INSURANCE.

Indian Merchants' Chamber really mean business.

The Bombay Chronicle

INSURANCE.

Indian merchants can give effect to this by helping indian Insurance Companies.

FOUNDED BY SIR PHEROZSHAHA M. MEHTA IN 1913.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

VOL XV NO 203— BOMBAY MONDAY DECEMBER 26 1927 ONE ANNA

SHIPPING

N. Y. K. LINE

SINGAPORE, CHINA & JAPAN

Steamers.	Tons.	Arrival	Departure
Muroran Maru ..	5374	16 Dec.	30 Dec.
Moji Maru ..	3787	22 ,,	5 Jan.
Sado Mar ..	5 98	30 ,,	12 ,,
Miyadono Maru ..	..	1 Jan.	12 ,,
Tyne Maru ..	5873	10 ,,	20 ,,
Genoa Maru ..	6785	16 ,,	39 ,,
Meigen Maru	5345	21 ,,	3 ,,
*Awa Maru ..	6028	30 ,,	12 Feb.

* Passenger Steamer

NIPPON YUSEN KAISHA

Oanada Building, Hornby Road Bombay

Phone Nos. 20279, 23738. Telg: 'Yusen.'

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LTD.

FORTNIGHTLY SERVICES BETWEEN

1. Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi, via Malabar.
2. Rangoon, Madras, Colombo.
3. Calcutta and Karachi via Coast Ports.
4. Rangoon, Calcutta, according in demand.

For freights and other particulars apply to: Messrs. NAROTTAM MORARJEE & CO. Agents.

Ballard Estate, Bombay

INSURANCE

Western India Life Insurance Co., Ltd.

HEAD OFFICE :—Satara City.

PROGRESS OF THE COMPANY

Valuation	Year.	Surplus disclosed.
First .	1917	Rs. 11,532
Second ..	1920	Rs. 27,737
Third ..	1923	Rs. 1,16,544

No other Company started within 25 years could show equal results at the same age.

Excellent opportunity for reliable energetic men of position and ability to represent the Company.

For agency and other particulars please apply to :—

THE MANAGING DIRECTOR, Satara City.

"Second To None"

Mr. RANGANATH RAO, of Ranipet writes :—

"I had occasions to use the world famed ATANK NIGRAH PILLS..... I can assure you, the medicine is SECOND TO NONE."

The Atank Nigrah Pills

Cure Brain-fag, Constipation, nervous debility and other mental as well as physical disorders.

Price—Rupee ONE (32 Pills)

For a full list of all our preparations write to :—

Atank Nigrah Pharmacy, JAMNAGAR (Kathiawar)

Bombay Office Kalbadevi Road.

Income-Tax & Super-Tax

Statutory Statement of Account prepared, Audit of Books of Firms UNDERTAKEN.

B. L. THOSAR PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT.

436-437, Kalbadevi Road, BOMBAY.

Tel. No. 22997.

SAVE EYES

of all troubles, even Cataract, Glaucoma, Granular lids, etc., cured Without Knife, by our nature's remedy Cocoanut Brand "LOTUS HONEY"—genuine and purest in market. Cure guaranteed. Dram Rs. 2-8, 2 drams Rs. 4. Postage extra. Ask particulars.

NEW FORMULA CO., Kandi, Bengal.

Tel.—Ulcer, Kandi.

Agents:—KEMP & CO., Charni Road, Bombay.

J. TIRTH & CO., Bunder Road, Karachi.

BANKING

Punjab National Bank, Limited.

ESTABLISHED 1895.

Authorised Capital	Rs. 1,00,00,000
Issued Capital	Rs. 50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	Rs. 50,00,000
Paid Up Capital	Rs. 31,07,401
Reserve Funds	Rs. 23,00,000

LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

1. Raja Govind Lal (Chairman).
2. Hon'ble Sir Manmohandass Ramji.
3. Lala Kishen Prasad.

HEAD OFFICE: 47, THE MALL, LAHORE.

BRANCHES:

Abohar	Hyderabad (Sind)	Montegomery
Allahabad	Jullunder	Montgomery)
Amritsar	Jaranwalla	Okara (dpt.)
Amballa City	Jhanwalla	Peshawar Can
Amballa Cant	Jamma	Peshawar City
Bombay	Jhelum City	Patiala
Cawnpore	Jhang	Quetta
Culcutta	(Maghiana)	Rawalpindi
Delhi	Karachi	Sangla Hill
D. I. Khan	Kasur	Sargodha
Ferozepore	Lahore City	Sialkot City
Gujranwalla	Lyallapur	Simla
Gojra	Ludhiana	Srinagar
Hafizabad	Meerut City	
Hoshiarpur	Multan City	

LONDON AGENTS:

THE MIDLAND BANK LTD.

AMERICAN AGENTS:

AMERICAN EXCHANGE IRVING TRUST COMPANY.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened and interest allowed at 3 per cent. from January to June and 2-1|2 per cent. from July. to December, at Bombay on a minimum daily balance of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000.

FIXED DEPOSITS are received for 12 months and shorter periods at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS:—Sums as low as Rs. 10 received and interest allowed at 4 per cent per annum.

LOANS OVERDRAFTS and CASH CREDITS.—The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

CHEQUES, HUNDIES, BILLS, etc., of outstations are bought, collected and discounted.

For other particulars and rules of business apply to:—

P. D. TANDON, Secretary and Chief Manager.

Sassoon House, Churchgate Street, Bombay.

INSURANCE

HINDUSTHAN

Co-operative Insurance Society, Ltd.

Head Office :—CALCUTTA.

(A PURELY INDIAN LIFE OFFICE.)

ASSETS Exceed Rs. 85,00,000

NEW BUSINESS (1925-27) Over Rs. 72,00,000.

LAST BONUS (1922) Rs. 75 per thousand for five years.

NEXT BONUS (1927) is expected to be very substantial.

Liberal Conditions as to Automatic Extension of Assurance, Loan and Surrender Values, Revival of Lapsed Policies, etc.

Premium Rates (with profit) are sufficiently low and without Profit Rates are, perhaps, the lowest.

Insure with "HINDUSTHAN" and have the satisfaction of making provision for self and family.

Applications for Agencies are invited.

For particulars please write to :—

N. DATTA, Manager, Bombay Branch.

Commissariat Building, Hornby Road, Fort. BOMBAY.

Insure Your Motor Cars

WITH

THE VULCAN INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED,

For Particulars Apply to :-

K. JIVRAJ & COMPANY,

PRINCIPAL AGENTS,

51-53, Bohra Bazar Street.

Tel. No. 25347. Fort. BOMBAY

KATNI FRENCH CHALK

The finest quality produced in India, free flowing, Impalpably powdered. Used in the Industries, Soap making, Rice Polishing and in the Foundry. Samples and Prices sent on application.

KATNI SOAP STONE

LARGE STOCKS AVAILABLE.

THE KATNI CEMENT & INDUSTRIAL CO., LTD.

Agents :—C. MACDONALD & CO., Laxmi Bldg., Ballard Road, BOMBAY.

After all your old Favourite CIGARETTES

Manufactured by the well-known Cigarette Manufacturers

Messrs. R. & J. HILL, Ltd., London

Reputed for their well-known brands since 1775 A. D., are arriving next week.

Do you know their Name?

If not Inquire of the distributors.

Cinema star Photograph enclosed in each packet.

Distributors :—ISHVERDAS & CO., P. O Box 733, Bombay 1.

CLASIFIED ADVTS

Readers, Private Short Advertisements are inserted in these columns at the following rates:—

HALF ANNA
PER WORD

Minimum Charge being Annas Twelve.

CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER.

The full name and address of the advertiser is required, not necessarily for publication.

Advertisers who do not wish their names and adresses published will be given a Box number. The words: Apply Box No.—Advertisement Department, "Bombay Chronicle," to be paid for.

Answers to advertisements should be addressed as follows:—Box Number—Advertisement Department, "Bombay Chronicle" Office, Bombay.

Unclaimed replies to advertisements are destroyed after one month.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

WANTED.—An ASSISTANT, experienced in correcting printers proofs, making advertisement lay outs and capable of maintaining complete records of advertising department. Only men with experience in a Newspaper Office should apply. Salary Rs. 150/- probation six months Rs. 175/- from July. Apply with testimonials to DAWAR H. KAZI AND CO., 249, Hornby Road, Bombay.
A 29730

WANTED.—(1) One SECOND CLASS ENGINEER, well experienced in working Saw Mill Plant. (2) One EXPERT in Sawing Timber logs with Saw Mill. (3) One CLERK, trained in type-writing well qualified in English at least undergraduate. Apply with testimonials noting age, qualifications, past service and minimum pay to:—RAJA GOKULDAS JEEWANDAS GOVINDDAS, Hanumantal, Jubbulpore.
A 29720

WANTED—CANVASSERS to sell our Ludhiana products on pay or on handsome commission, security of Rs. 150/ most essential. Apply for terms to FAKIRCHAND PHULCHAND BANKERS, Ludhiana.
A. R62

WANTED.—UNEMPLOYED for immediate employment. No Commission. Form anna stamps. BHARATSEWAK CO., Naiwara DELHI.
A R616.

WANTED.—INFLUENTIAL and ENERGETIC AGENTS and CANVASSERS in Bombay for the East and West Insurance Co., Ltd., on liberal commission, salary or both. Apply sharp with testimonials, if any, to the SECRETARIES, 55, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.
A 29668

WANTED.—AGENTS and CANVASSERS for infallible medicines for Gonorrhoea and Syphilis. Pay Rs. 50/- plus commission. Apply with references to H. BHATTACHARJEE AND CO., Sadarghat, Chittagong."
A R618

WANTED.—INFLUENTIAL AGENTS for the sale of "Bombay Chronicle", Daily and Sunday Editions. Apply for the Revised Terms of Agency to the MANAGER, "Bombay Chronicle", "Hari" Building, Old Custom House Road, Fort, Bombay.

PHOTOGRAPHY.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

Photographs of general interest are invited from readers from all parts of India for publication in "The Chronicle." Preference will be given to topical photographs on subjects of political, general, engineering, scientific or other interest. Accepted photographs will be paid for on publication, at usual rates.

The Editor undertakes no responsibility for the return of unaccepted photographs, but every endeavour will be made to return rejected photographs, accompanied by stamped addressed envelopes. All photographs must be sent to the

EDITOR,
"Bombay Chronicle.
Old Custom House Road, Bombay.

SITUATIONS VACANT

WANTED.—One competent VETERINARY SURGEON G.B.V.C. or G.P.V.C. Salary Rs. 100/—5—150/- p.m. Apply to HONORARY SECRETARY, Karachi Panjrapore Association, Napier Road, Karachi.
A 29735

WANTED.—A SALES MANAGER for retail, store, capable of controlling sales, stocks, correspondence advertising. Previous experience in an English store essential. Salary Rs. 200/- with commission. Apply Box No. 2065A Advt. Dept. "Bombay Chronicle."
A 29734.

SITUATIONS WANTED

TRANSLATION WORK from Urdu, Persian and Hindi into English and vice versa undertaken by an experienced translator. Charges moderate, Accuracy and promptness guaranteed. Apply Box No. 2036, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle."
B 29545

FOR SALE.

HALF-TONE BLOCKS of Topical Interest published in the "Bombay Chronicle." can be had FOR SALE or hire. Apply for Terms and Rates to the MANAGER. The "Bombay Chronicle," Hari Building, Old Custom House Road, Fort, Bombay.

PUBLIC NOTICES

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCEMENTS, Legal and Public Notifications are published in these columns at the following rates:—

	Per Column inch per Insertion.
1st Insertion	Rs. 7-8-0
2nd Insertion	Rs. 5-8-0
3rd Insertion	Rs. 4-8-0
4th and Subsequent Insertion	Rs. 3-8-0

Mofussil advertisers are requested to send remittance in advance and state clearly, whether they wish to insert their advertisements in these columns or in the classified short advertisement columns.

G. I. P. RAILWAY.

APPLICATIONS ARE INVITED for the appointment, (which will be temporary in the first instance, for a period not exceeding one year) of Publicity Officer, G. I. P. Railway. Applicants should state their age, qualifications, and nationality. The salary offered will be according to qualifications. Applications, which should be addressed to the undersigned, should be accompanied by copies of certificates which will not be returned.

The successful applicant will be required to sign an agreement, which may be terminated by one month's notice in writing on either side. Other terms and conditions of service will be those usually applicable to temporary appointments.

T. G. RUSSELL,
Agent.
29722

NOTICE TO CONSIGNEES.

CONSIGNEES OF CARGO per S. S. "CELEBES MARU" are hereby informed of the steamer's arrival on the 24th December from Japan, Hongkong, Singapore and Colombo and are requested to send their Bills of Lading to this office for counter-signature without delay. No survey will be held on cargo damaged or in doubtful condition unless a written application is received by the undersigned within seven days after the date of discharge. No survey will be held on cargo in single gunny. Messrs. Ericson and Richards, the Marine Surveyors, will be attending Docks every morning to survey damages. Cargo removed from the Landing Shed or warehoused is not entitled to survey. The Bills for claims are to be sent to this office within one month from the date of Steamer's arrival, otherwise they will not be entertained.

MANAGER,
Osaka Shosen Kaisha.

LEGAL NOTICES.

CALCUTTA SMALL CAUSE COURT NOTICE.

Suit No. 18269 of 1927.

Messrs. SRIKISSENLAL MANNULAL, a firm, carryng on business at 242 Raja Katra, Calcutta.

Versus.

MURLI JAGANNATH, carrying on business at Telli Gulli, Bombay, Post Box 9. Next date of hearing 24th January, 1928. Before the Registrar, for Rs. 297-2-6.

By Order,
H. S. MORE,
Deputy Registrar.
Court of Small Causes,
Calcutta.
The 19th December, 1927.
29731

CALCUTTA SMALL CAUSE COURT NOTICE.

Suit No. 18270 of 1927.

SRIKISSENLAL MANNULAL, a firm, carrying on business at 242 Raja Katra, Calcutta.

Versus.

BUDHURAM BHUPATRAM, a firm, carrying on business at Telli Gully, Bombay, Post Box No. 9. Next date of hearing 24th January, 1928. Before the Registrar, for Rs. 265-3-3.

By Order,
H. S. MORE,
Deputy Registrar.
Court of Small Causes.
Calcutta,
The 19th December, 1927.
29732

CALCUTTA SMALL CAUSE COURT NOTICE.

Suit No. 18271 of 1927.

Messrs. SRIKISSENLAL MANNULAL, carrying on business at 242 Raja Katra, Calcutta.

Versus.

MAHAVIR GAJADHAR, carrying on business at Bhendi Bazar, Parsi Gully, Bombay, Post Box No. 9. Next date of hearing 21st January, 1928. Before the Registrar, for Rs. 387.

By Order,
H. S. MORE,
Deputy Registrar.
Court of Small Causes,
Calcutta,
The 20th December, 1927.
29733

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Mrs. ISFARANCE MINGEL MISQUITTA, of Vile Parle, hath agreed to sell to my client, free from all incumbrances, Final Plot Number 67 of Town Planning Scheme Number 3 of Vile-Parle, admeasuring 1,525 square yards.

All persons having or claiming to have any, right, title, interest, property, claim or demand, whatsoever in, to, upon or in respect of the said piece of land or any portion thereof, by way of bequest, charge, easement, exchange, gift, inheritance, lease, lien, maintenance, mortgage, possession, purchase, partnership, share, trust, wahiwat or otherwise howsoever, are hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at his office in "Vasant Niwas" Building at Andheri, within fourteen days from the date hereof, otherwise the sale will be completed at the expiry of the said period without reference to any such claim or claims, and the same, if any, will be deemed and considered to have been knowingly waived.

Dated this 23rd day of December, 1927.
GAJANAN SADASHIV PATIL,
Vakil, High Court.
29729

COTTON TELEGRAPHIC INFORMATION SERVICE.

(Established under the guidance of Sheth Virjlal Ranchhordas.)

NEW YORK FUTURES,

NEW YORK FUTURES and LIVERPOOL quotations from the opening market to closing with time to time fluctuations and our Agent's opinion (Dharna) and other informations, are being daily received at this Bureau and furnished to the clientele at the earliest by express telegrams to any part of India.

NEW YORK CLOSING FUTURES CAN BE WIRED AFTER 2-15 A.M., after mid-night on RECEIPT OF OUR SPECIAL CABLE.

We can also furnish promptly all important information about local cotton market as per our client's instructions on commission.

We can execute forward transactions and sell ready cotton in Bombay Market.

For commission rates, deposit terms, and other particulars, please write to:—

THE MANAGER,
Cot. Tel. Inf. Service.
Opp. Central Telegraph Office,
Sir Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
Tel. Add.: "COMEALONG."
Tel. Nos: 22044-24241.

AMUSEMENTS.

9 Reels.

PATHE SUPER GAZETTE. Time: 6-15, 8-15 & 10 P.M.
MATINEE TO-DAY AT 4 P.M.
PATHE CINEMA Royal Opera House.

LAST WEEK! LAST WEEK!!
Grand X'mas Week! Special Performance !!
TO-DAY AT 4 P.M.
Kichak Vadh
will be staged by—
MAHARASTRA NATAK MANDALI
at the ELPHINSTONE THEATRE, Grant Road.
Reserve your Seats immediately at the Theatre from 8 to 11 a. m. & 4 to 7 p.m. Daily.

Opportunity for few days only on our way to sea Voyage !!
SENSATION
OF THE
SEASON
with entire new attraction
Prof. SHANKERARAO'S
KARLEKAR
Grand Circus
and the largest Menagerie of wild beasts
Location :—NANA'S CHOWK
Gowalia Tank, Grant Road, Bombay
DAILY TWO SHOWS
MATINEE at 4-30 p. m. &
NIGHT at 9-30 p. m.
Book your Seats at the Circus Tent.

CINEMA MAJESTIC
Girgaum
Continues for the 2nd Week
Kohinoor Film Co.'s
The Mission Girl
featuring
Miss Ruby, Messrs. Khalil & Raja Sandow
Daily at 5. 7, 9 & 11 P.M.
Sunday, extra Show at 3 P.M.

GLOBE CINEMA
Sandhurst Road
5-15, 7, 8-45 and 10-30 Daily.
Sat., Sun. and Mon. at 3-30 P.M.
SPECIALLY CHRISTMAS
Week Programme
WILLIAM FOX
Presents
"THE FAST MAIL"
WITH
CHARLES JONES
Story which begins with a Steeplechase and ends with a Hotel Conflagration!
Also CHARLIE CHAPLIN 2 Reels Comic
And also H. M. The King of Afghanistan visits to Race Course.
H. E. Lord Irwin visits to Boy Scouts.
Lady Irwin visits to Girl Guides.

TO-DAY....MONDAY the 26th December.
FOOLISH WIVES
Universal Million Dollar Production
Featuring
Eric Von Stroheim
The Man you will love to hate.
TO-MORROW TUESDAY, 27th December.
TAKE IT FROM ME
Starring the one and only
REGINALD DENNY.
Extra Show at 3-30 on Bank Holidays
Other days as usual.
Prices to suit all Pockets.

THE CONGRESS

A complete record of the Indian National Congress and its doings is contained in the
INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION.
The Story of the Origin and Progress of the Indian National Congress.
BY AMVIKA CHARAN MAZUMDAR.
A volume of 25 chapters and 460 pages, from cover to cover—it is useful, suggestive, breathing inspiration and hope.—"New India."
Price Rs. Three
To Subs. of the "Indian Review" Rs. 2-8.
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Price of each Vol. Rs. 3. Three,
To Subs. of the "Indian Review," Rs. 2-8
In Paper cover.
Rash Behari Ghose's Speeches & Writings.
Re. 1-4. To Subscribers of "I. R." Re. 1.
CONGRESS LITERATURE.
The Governance of India. By Baba Govinda Das. As it is and as it may be. It is a Handbook of progressive Politics and a 'vade mecum' for active politicians. Cloth bound Rs. Three. To Subscribers of "I. R." Rs. 2-8.
The Indian Problem. By C. F. Andrews. Contents:—Indian Independence. India and the Empire. Non-Co-operation. Swadeshi Movement. National Education. Drink and Opium Evil, etc., etc., Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of "I. R." As. 12.
Bureaucratic Government. By Bernard Houghton. This is the first Indian Edition of this well-known work. Mr. Houghton examines the present position critically. It is a book of great topical interest. Price Re. 1-8 as. To Subscribers of "I. R." Rs. 1-4 as.
Edwin Samuel Montagu. A study in Indian Polity. Being a sketch of his career and an account of his efforts to bring about the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms. 84 Pages. Price 8 as. To Subs. of the "I. R." As. 6.
Books are given at concession rates only to subscribers of "The Indian Review." Any one who wishes to buy books at concession rates must remit Rs. Five, one year's subscription, to the "Review" in advance.
G. A. NATESAN AND CO.,
Publishers, Madras.

SHIPPING.

P. & O. BRITISH INDIA.
(Incorporated in England).
MAIL & PASSENGERS SERVICE.
R. and O. SAILINGS to PLYMOUTH AND LONDON CALLING AT MARSEILLES.
All passengers are required to be in possession of passports.

Date.	Steamers	Connecting at Aden with	Tons.
1927			
31 Dec.	KAISAR-I-HIND		11,518
1928			
7 Jan.	RAWALPINDI	MALOJA‡	20,837
14 ,,	RANPURA		16,601
21 ,,	RAWALPINDI	MOREA*	10,953
23 ,,	RANCHI		16,650
4 Feb.	RAZMAK	MALDERA x	16,098
11 ,,	RAWALPINDI		3,519
18 ,,	RAZMAK	MALWA*	10,986
25 ,,	RAJPUTANA		16,568
3 Mar.	RAZMAK	NARKUNDA	16,302
10 ,,	KAISAR-I-HIND		11,518
17 ,,	RAZMAK@†		10,902
21 ,,	CHINA$		7,952
24 ,,	RANPURA		16,601
31 ,,	MOOLTAN‡		20,847
7 Apr.	RANCHI		16,650
14 ,,	RAZMAK@		10,902
21 ,,	RAWALPINDI		16,018
28 ,,	MALOJA‡		20,837
5 May.	RAJPUTANA.		16,568
12 ,,	RAZMAK	MOREA*	10,953
19 ,,	KAISAR-I-HIND		11,518
26 ,,	RAZMAK	NALDERA x	16,088
2 June	RANPURA		16,601
9 ,,	RAZMAK	MALWA*	10,986
16 ,,	CHINA		7,952
23 ,,	RAZMAK	NARKUNDA x	16,572
30 ,,	RAWALPINDI		16,919

@ To Marseilles only.
X Through steamers from Australia have limited accommodation for passengers from India.
$Through steamers from China have limited accommodation for passengers from India.
‡ 1st Saloon only
† Extra sailing at the following reduced rates:—
1st Saloon to London A. £89, B. £70, C. £60.
1st Saloon to Marseilles A. £73, B. £63, C. £56.
2nd Saloon to London A. £54, B. £50.
2nd Saloon to Marseilles A. £50, B. £48.

SPECIAL OFF SEASON RETURN TICKETS.
First Saloon Return Tickets at Special Reduced Rates will be issued for any Mail Steamer during the period commencing from Bombay with the sailing of the S. S. "RANPURA" on the 2nd of June, 1928, and terminating with the "KAISER-I-HIND" due in Bombay on the 21st September. The fares will be as follows:—
To London and back by Sea £105
To London and back via Marseilles including P. & O. Special Train across France in both directions ... £120
To Marseilles and back £100
P. & O. SPECIAL TRAIN MARSEILLES—LONDON.
During the months of June, July and August the fare by this train will be reduced to £10.

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS.
Bombay to Port Said and Plymouth.

Date about.	Steamers.	Tons.
1928		
12th Jan.	DUMRA	8,441
23rd Feb.	MANORA	7,888
15th March	DUMANA	8,437
5th April	MANELA	8,363
3rd May	DUMRA	8,441

P. & O. SAILINGS TO COLOMBO, STRAITS, CHINA, JAPAN and AUSTRALIA.

1927		
x31st Dec.	TASMANIA M.	Straits and Japan
1928		
x5th Jan.	KIDDERPORE	Straits, China and Japan.
x13th ,,	HIYEIZAN M.	Straits & Japan
17th ,,	KHIVA	Colombo Straits China and Japan
31st ,,	KALYAN	Colombo Straits China and Japan

xDoes not carry Passengers.

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS.
TO AFRICA, KARACHI, PERSIAN GULF, TUTICORIN, COLOMBO, MADRAS, CALCUTTA & RANGOON.

1927			
26th Dec	VITA	..	Karachi via Port Okha & Cutch Mandvie.
28th ,,	SANKURA	..	Basra via Karachi & Persian Gulf Ports
28th ,,	xELLORA	..	Mombasa.
30th ,,	VARELA	..	Basra via Karachi.
31st ,,	CHAKLA	..	Karachi via Porbander Dwarka & Cutch Mandvie.
1928			
4th Jan.	KHANDALLA		East & South Africa.

xExtra sailing to Mombasa only.
There will be sailings for Karachi on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays every week. Local passengers for Karachi can only proceed by the Friday sailings when accommodation is not required for passengers ex the P. & O. Mail Steamer or through Passengers to Basrah.
Terms and Rates of Freights and Passage may be arranged with
MACKINNON MACKENZIE & CO.,
Ballard Road, Fort, Bombay.

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SALE SALE SALE SALE

Great Sale of beautiful and artistic Florentine Marble works

Perfect in designs of modern

ITALIAN ART WORKS.

From Rs. 2 to Rs. 500.

UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY TO BEAUTIFY YOUR HOME.

SALE CLOSES 30TH DECEMBER.

Italian Florentine Marble Works

Rustom Building, Churchgate Street, BOMBAY.

CONGRESS NUMBER

OF

"BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

Out! Out!!

The Number which is printed on glazed paper contains contributions on a rich variety of topics from well-known publicists:

The Number contains more than 112, pages. Twelve pages of Art Paper are devoted to pictures of general Architectural and Sculptural interest.

The Art section is a striking feature of the Number.

The front page will be an attractive picture in three Colours prepared specially for the Number by a distinguished artist.

The section assigned to architecture, sculpture and painting considering the price of the Number, places the Number above the standard of the average publication of this kind.

Price Annas Eight only.

Postage annas TWO extra.

To Avoid Disappointment Register your orders immediately with

THE MANAGER
"Bombay Chronicle"
Old Customs House Road, BOMBAY

CRABBIE'S WHITE LABEL SCOTCH WHISKY

A HIGH CLASS QUALITY AT A MODERATE PRICE

TRY IT

WELL KNOWN FOR OVER 50YEARS AND STOCKED BY MOST WHOLESALE DEALERS

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NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

ARRIVAL OF PRESIDENT ELECT.

The tenth session of the National Liberal Federation opens to-morrow at the Cowasji Jehangir Public Hall Bombay, with Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as the president. The president-elect and his party, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and several delegates arrived in Bombay by the Calcutta Mail on Sunday afternoon. They were received at the Victoria Terminus by the members of the Reception Committee and several prominent Liberals in the city including, among others, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. D. G. Dalavi. The president-elect and his party are staying at the Taj Mahal Hotel.

ACTION AGAINST MISS MAYO

SUGGESTION TO CONGRESS FROM AMERICA

(Free Press Special.)

MADRAS, Dec. 25.

Mr. Rambul Bajpai, 209 Sullivan Place, Brooklyne, New York has addressed a letter to the Secretary, Indian National Congress, suggesting that legal action should be taken against Miss Mayo and publishers of "Mother India", both English and American. He says if briefs are forwarded they would be able to bring a suit in America. The book has a double-edged purpose; firstly, to convince America and Europe of India's unfitness to govern herself and secondly to stimulate attacks upon Americans as England wants to drive out of India American film business. He says proceedings would not cost much. He has also written a letter to Lala Lajpat Rai, suggesting that he should prepare a brief and sent it to New York.

ALL-INDIA MUSIC CONFERENCE

PRESIDENT ON EMOTION OF MUSIC

MADRAS, (Congress Camp), Dec. 24.

The All-India Music Conference commenced sitting to-day noon in the special pandal erected in Congress Nagar. The pandal was well decorated with flags and festons. The Conference was attended by a large number of delegates and visitors from all over India. The proceedings of the Conference commenced with the singing of inspiring songs by Kamaladevi and others.

Dr. Rama Rao, Chairman, Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in a beautiful speech.

After it was over, Kammi Reddi Suryanarayana Murthi, President, delivered his address in the course of which he said:

Music is both a fine and sacred art in the conception of the East. Love for the deity is sooner worked by the singing of holy songs. Music dispels evil passions and stirs the deepest emotions. The religious element is most predominent. It is equally scientific. The Indian scale system was regarded with reverence by ancient Greeks."

Then he appealed to the lovers of music to do their best for the cause of music and raise it by their patronage and encouragement to its pristine state of glory.

In conclusion, he appealed to the Madras University to institute a degree for music and arts.—Free Press.

WELCOME ADDRESS DECLINED

CUTTACK, Dec. 24.

H.E. the Governor has declined a welcome address from the Cuttack Municipality on the ground that there are party feuds in the Municipality.—A.P.

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TESTIMONIAL

Hon. Col. D. Dawespelly, Bart. B.A., M.D. L.L.D., Ph. D. B.M.S. Principal, Electro Medical College, Madras, writes:—"Beej Bund" which I tried to several of my patients has given utmost satisfaction in completely eradicating all symptoms of impotency.

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ANAND JIWAN PHARMACY, AGRA

THE NEW RESERVE BANK BILL

(Continued from Page 6.)

detriment of our agricultural, commercial and industrial interests.

2. With a Gold Bullion Standard (?) Great Britain possesses to-day a gold unit in terms of which all values are measured and her foreign exchanges are left to themselves; with a gold bullion standard in India we shall have no monetary gold unit of value, we shall still be on a rupee basis, and that fatal disastrous policy of regulating our exchanges which has brought such heavy losses to us in the past will be perpetuated without any prospect of revision in the immediate future. Regulation of Foreign exchange is vicious in theory and definitely condemned by economic thought.

A Gold Bullion Standard with a token silver unit of value whose value in terms of gold is to be artificially maintained and manipulated and "stabilised" by the Reserve Bank either by contracting or expanding the volume of purchasing power without any regard to the requirements either of agriculture or industry but with the sole object of maintaining the exchange value of the rupee and only be regarded as the crowning of a series of reckless experiments by a measure which will ensure all the evils of a managed currency without any of its advantages and which will prove one more potent weapon for stifling the industrial development of our country, and investing India's gold in London in the interest of the London money market.

3. The Reserve Bank Bill will give legislative sanction with the alleged full approval of Indian public opinion to the view that our currency and monetary organisation is to be run for the primary object of maintaining the stability of the exchanges.

The Legislature is asked to give its sanction to a measure which rests on the assumption that whatever may happen to the internal demand for currency and credit for the development of our industries and the financing of our commerce and the fostering of our agriculture the money market of India is to be primarily organised for maintaining the gold value of the rupee at a point more or less arbitrarily fixed and which may be abandoned as a readily as it is maintained to-day if circumstances alter in the future. A more amazing perversion of economic theory to suit profiteering and explanation on such a nation-wide scale the future alone can show.

If the Reserve Bank Bill is accepted by the Legislature even after modifying the composition of the directorate on the lines suggested by the Legislature in its present form, those who accept it might well remember that the Bank will indirectly render the development of industrial banking difficult if not impossible, and that in the absence of an organised industrial banking all talk of industrial development is moonshine. The Reserve Bank Bill undoubtedly systematises the existing money market in India, and creates an institution with powers to control and dominate over the market, powers which are likely to be abused but it will prevent our money market from becoming adequate to meet our industrial needs.

Can we not appeal to the members of our Legislature to make sure that the vital issue is not only the question as to the composition of the directorate of the Bank, but also the question of the standard of the Reserve Bank meant to control the Gold Bullion Standard and the manipulation of our money market for regulating the exchanges? Even if the Legislature obtains control over the policy of the Bank, which it is 'but proper' it should have, it will not remove our real objection to the Bill. If it is not possible to get the bill altered on the lines suggested above, it is safe in the interest of our country that the bill be scrapped for the time. The passing of the Bill into law is not going to improve our condition—it may do us more harm than good. Two or three more years of inaction are not going to make a difference in our economic existence. The exchange value of the rupee is fixed and whether we have a Reserve Bank or no Reserve Bank the exchanges will be maintained and manipulated by deviees of all kinds. With a Reserve Bank these manipulations will be carried out more "scientifically." The contract with the Imperial Bank of India terminates in 1931. If the Bill is scrapped now there is a possibility of our rethinking the whole problem of our standard and centralised banking and securing what we want. By passing the Reserve Bank Bill in its present form without an effective gold standard, we have very little to gain, much to risk, and a good deal to lose.—Yours, etc.

P. A. WADIA,
G. N. JOSHI.

EARTHQUAKE SHOCK IN JAMSHEDPUR

(From a Correspondent.)

JAMSHEDPUR, Dec. 25.

A rather sharp shock of an earthquake was experienced in Jamshedpur at 12-22 noon to-day. The shock lasted nearly two minutes. Much noise underground was heard just before and along with the shock which is believed to have come from eastward. No loss is reported.

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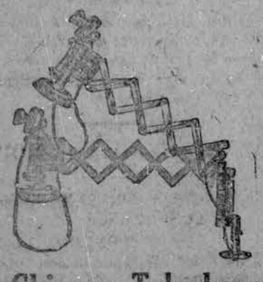

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NOT WORTH A BRASS FARTHING

DR, DESHMUKH ON SIMON SHOW

All this sound and fary of the privilege of confronting the Commision and affront to the nation means nothing. If the Knights of Hind are associated with the Knights of India it does not make any substantial difference to the people of India. We have again been given a toy which is making a great deal of rattle and absorbing the energies of the nation which might be diverted to better purpose in more vital questions.

Let us look at some figures. They will shed a clear light on the whole subject:—British India consists of 247 million people out of which the female population is 123 millions—taken at 50 per cent. only—and Untouchables are about 60 millions. It is estimated that 90 per cent. of the population are in villages and it is easy to see that out of 247 millions only 6 millions, hardly 2 5 per cent. would be touched by the Simon Jury, in other words 98 out of hundred would not be affected at all by this Enquiry. Eliminate the labourers, workmen and all the lower layers of the society who would hardly be expected to get the electoral franchise; why should the nation then go into Hysterics? What we really want is the power to shape our own destiny. Unless the economic position and education of 183 million human souls, that is, the women and the Untouchables is taken up by the Commission, that Commission is not worth a brass farthing. If a Commission takes it up, I would not care who is on the Commission—Indian, British, African or Foreigner. This Commission or similar Commissions serving no useful purpose, the duty of the nation is clear. It is not to have anything to do with it.

MASTER COTTON-SPINNERS' SCHEME.

TO REDUCE COST OF PRODUCTION

LONDON, Dec. 24.

The Federation of the Master Cotton Spinners' Associations has drawn up a scheme to reduce the costs of production and increase the output. The revision of hours and wages is foreshadowed in a report which has been submitted to the Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, but on which no joint decisions have yet been taken.

It is reported without confirmation that the Federation recommends the reduction of 12 1|2 per cent. in piece-rates paid to the operatives and the extension of working hours from 48 to 52, the idea being not to reduce the weekly wages packet, but to increase the output.

At present, the machinery is unproductive for four or five hours per week owing to cleaning and oiling. The report further tackles the question of the uneconomic position of the mills recapitalised during war-time.—Reuter's Special.

'THE SCOUT JAMBOREE'

A "Scout-master" writes:—

"I pity your correspondent, Mr. A. B. V., for his being thoroughly misinformed and misguided regarding the Scout Jamboree. It is sad that he should be upset and give vent to such excitement. Well, let me offer him my sympathy and request him to calm down a bit. Mr. A. B. V. takes for granted that the arrangements were thoroughly improper and incomplete. I agree with him that most of the boys went without food on Saturday. But who is to be blamed for it? Not of course the management! I think they had done every bit to make the whole thing a success. But I regret the whole was upset by some of the Scouters. I can confidently say that if the Scout-masters had allowed things their course, everything would have been smooth and comfortable. Hence let me beg Mr. A. B. V. to let the Jamboree affair alone and not have any washing of dirty linen."

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Mr. Bhimji K. Chotai, Sub-Engineer, P. W. D. Sub-Divisional Officer, (Kathiawar) Una, writes on 20-10-1926:—"I have tried many Astrologers both native and Europeans but I have found your work as the best of all." Apply to:—

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DECORATING NEW DELHI

FURTHER FACILITIES FOR INDIAN ARTISTS

FLAT WALL SPACES TO BE PAINTED

NEW DELHI, Dec. 24.

In connection with the scheme for the encouragement of Indian artists by providing facilities for the decoration of certain Government buildings in New Delhi announced in a press communique dated 5th September last, it has now been decided that in addition to the houses and ceilings in the Secretariat Buildings at New Delhi, the flat wall spaces in those buildings will also be made available for painting. The date by which small scale designs or cartoons are to be submitted by artists to the Government of India has now been extended from 1st February 1928 to 1st March 1928 to enable artists to come to delhi and inspect the spaces available for decoration in order to acquaint themselves with the lighting and other particulars. Artists intending to do so should communicate with the Deputy Secretary, Depadtment of Industries and Labour, New Delhi. A sum of Rs. 650 will be paid for each set of cartoons preliminary sketches which are approved by the committee. This sum is intended not only as a remuneration for the work done on cartoons but also to cover any expenses incurred by artists in visiting Delhi and no further travelling or halting allowances in connection with the cartoons will be paid by Government. The rate at which payment will be made for the final decoration will be settled after the Government of India have had an opportunity of conferring with artists whose cartoons have been selected by the Committee.—A. P.

ALL-INDIA TABLEEGH CONFERENCE

BHAVNAGAR MUSLIMS MESSAGE TO LORD HEDLEY

The following letter has been written to Lord Hedley, President of the All-India Tableegh Conference which is going to be held on Christmas Day at Delhi:—

The Anjuman-i-Islam of Bhavnagar on behalf of the Muslims of Kathiawar cordially welcome you as a Muslim brother to India. You have all along been exerting yourself in the work of Tableegh since the time you embraced the True Faith; and now you have taken all the trouble to travel such a long distance over to India to preside over the deliberations of the greatest Tableegh institution of our country, for which we all feel truly and sincerely grateful to you. The Conference will really be, we are sure, much benefitted by your erudition and knowledge and experience gained in an advanced and civilized country like England.

Please deliver our message to the Conference that although we are living far away from them in a dark corner of the country, yet all our sympathies are with them in this laudable work of Tableegh and that we are always ready to co-operate with them whenever required.

'Wassalaamu Alekum' and peace be on you.

With all good wishes and prayers for the success of the Conference.

FATAL FALL FROM LOFT

A fatal accident occurred in a tobacco godown at Custom House Road on the 13th instant, in which a woman, Parvatibai Ramchandra Govind (30), working as a coolie in godowns, fell down from the loft, nearly 11 feet high, and got her skull fractured. She was immediately taken to the hospital where she died on Saturday. Coroner's Jury returned a verdict of death by haemorrhage due to fracture of skull.

LIVERPOOL WEEKLY COTTON STATISTICS.

Liverpool, Dec. 24.

The weekly Cotton Statistics as compiled by the Statistical Department of the Liverpool Cotton Exchange are as follows:

	Week ending 17/12/27	Week ending 24/12/27
	Bales.	Bales.
Total in Sight	9,658,000	9,966,000
Egyptian Cotton Visible Supply	536,000	535,000
East Indian Cotton Visible Supply	110,900	134,000
American Cotton Visible Supply	6,127,000	6,082,000
Other Cotton Visible Supply	310,000	307,000
Total Sales	29,420	38,960
East Indian Cotton Sales	1,650	1,100
East Indian Cotton Stock	18,000	17,000
East Indian Cotton Forwarded	1,100	1,900
East Indian Cotton Actual Export		500
East Indian Cotton Imports	4,000	1,000
East Indian Cotton Speculation		
American Cotton Afloat	109,000	113,000
East Indian Cotton Afloat	5,000	7,000
Total Afloat	180,000	181,000
Takings of World's Spinners American Cotton	398,000	351,000

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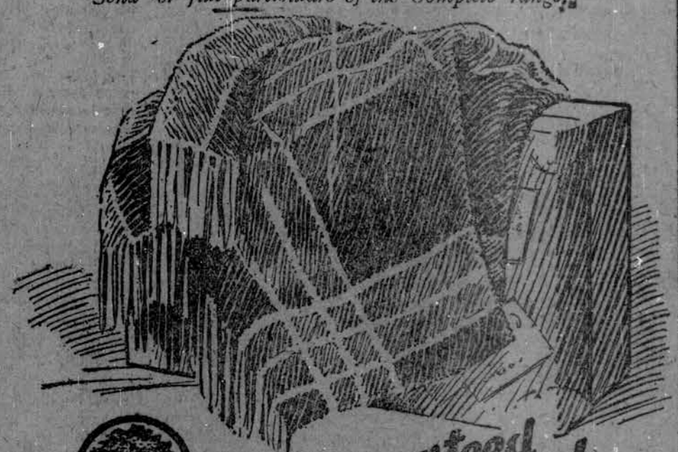

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BOMBAY CITY & SUBURBS.

TUESDAY, Dec. 27.

National Liberal Federation, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presiding. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Public Hall, Mayo Road, 1 p.m. (S. T.).

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

The Tenth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India will be held at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Public Hall, Mayo Road, Fort, on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, the 27th, 28th and 29th instant under the distinguished presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The first day's proceedings will begin at 1 p.m. (S. T.). Members of the Reception Committee, Delegates and Visitors are requested to be on their seats by 12-30 at the latest.

MUSLIM STUDENTS' UNION.

It is proposed to hold the open singles, the handicap singles, Ping Pong Tournaments as also the Open Draughts and Chess Tournaments, immediately after the Christmas Vacation.

Intending competitors should send in their entries to Mr. M. H. Sayani, Elphinstone College, Bombay, on or before the 3rd proximo.

UDICHYA TOLAK CONGRESS.

The First Session of "Shree Samasta-Udichya Tolak Samaj" will be held on 30th and 31st instant, at Halcharwas Bhimnath Temple under the presidentship of Mr. Chhaganlal Homatram Joshi.

PRARTHANA SAMAJ.

Babu Bepin Chandra Pal will deliver a lecture on "The Brahma Samaj in relation to the Present Freedom Movement in India" to-day (Monday) at 6 p.m. in the Prarthana Mandir, Girgaum.

"A LECTURE AT SARASWAT COLONY."

At the Saraswat Housing Colony at Santa Cruz, a lecture will be delivered by Mr. Narayan Rao Kulkarney on "How to develop a Non-progressive Housing Movement to benefit the tenants," to-day (Monday) at 5-30 p.m. (S. T.), when Mr. U. Dattatraya will preside.

PATHE CINEMA.

"Camille," most famous of all the sirens of the demi-monde in the nineteenth century, brought to life as the toast of modern Paris!

The celebrated "Lady of the Camellias," revealed as the most fashionable beauty of the hour, retracing the threads of her pathetic romance with a modern "Armand."

Such is the "miracle" performed through the medium of the motion picture screen at the Royal Opera House Theatre, where Norma Talmadge's respondent, modern version of "Camille," directed by Fred Niblo, is in the feature this week.

Even the younger generation, in great numbers, is familiar with the magnificent love story of "Camille" her rise from humble employment in a glove shop to undisputed reign over the gayest set of Paris; her attraction of wealthy and titled admirers who came to mean no more to her than as many pawns in a game of chess; the birth of her one real, all consuming love for the youthful "Armand"; her heart rending sacrifice of happiness for his sake, and the tragedy of death which claimed her while she was penniless and alone, longing for the presence of "the lover who never understood," and who returned too late.

SEQUEL TO SOVIET SUBJECTS DEPARTURE

TRAM STRIKE ENDS IN SHANGHAI

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Shanghai.—The tram service which had been suspended since 1st December when intimidators fired on a tramcar was resumed fully to-day. Ex-strikers are now helping the police to arrest the agitators apparently believing that there is no risk of reprisals with the departure of Soviet subjects, 17 of whom including Consul-General Kovlovsky sailed this morning.—Reuter.

M. C. C. VERSUS SOUTH AFRICA

INTERESTING MATCH AT JOHANNESBURG

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Johannesburg.—The first test match between South Africa and the M.C.C. began to-day before 5,000 spectators. The weather was warm, though the sky was overcast. South Africa won toss and going in to bat were all out at tea time for 196 runs.

Catterall made 86 for South Africa and Geary took seven wickets for 70 runs. England had made 80 for one wicket when stumps were drawn for the day.—Reuter's Special.

RESERVE BANK BILL.

CALCUTTA, Dec. 25.

The Delhi correspondent of "The Statesman" says that the fundamental principles enunciated in "The Statesman" recently regarding the new Reserve Bank Bill are correct in the main and the forecast will prove so in principal features of the Bill.—Free Press.

COMPLETE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

CONGRESS GOAL DEFINED

FREEDOM FIRST AND BRITISH CONNECTION AFTER

"REPLY TO ARROGANT BIRKENHEAD" SAYS MR. S. IYENGAR

SUBJECT COMMITTEE DISCUSSION

The Subjects Committee of the Congress on the motion of Pundit Jawharlal Nehru passed by a large majority, a resolution declaring the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence on the understanding, that this does not involve a change in the Congress Creed regarding Swaraj.—A. P.

(From Our Special Representative.)

MADRAS, (Congress Camp) Dec. 25.

The meeting of the Subjects Committee to-day, was marked by great enthusiasm. The Committee on the proposal of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru supported by Messrs. Srinivas Iyengar, Satyamurti, Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and against the earnest pleadings of Mr. Vijiayaraghavachariar, Dr. Besant, Pundit Malaviya, Rajendra Prasad and Prakasam passed a resolution declaring the goal of Indian people to be complete independence.

The majority of the Committee seemed to be in no mood to listen to counsels of prudence or moderation. It seemed determined to give a reply to the affront offered to the country by the appointment of the Simon Commission without fully realising, whether it was prepared to suit action to words. Mr. Srinivas Iyengar gave expression to the mood of the majority when he declared that "the resolution was a fitting answer to the arrogant challenge of arrogant Birkenhead". Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's opening and closing speeches were models of terse reasoning, and he put the issue clearly, when he said that the resolution gave expression to a fundamental thing and did not signify any ill-will for England or British connection. "If we are free, we shall then be able to consider frankly and without any fear this question as to how far we should ally ourselves with this or that group or not" said Pt. Jawaharlal. But he seemed to minimise the importance of unanimity of action on the part of the country without which freedom itself which will give us the choice to allay ourselves with this or that group is impossible of attainment, and which, I understand, will be the main theme of Dr. Ansari's Presidential Address, which will plead for unity in the country in the Congress and in the Councils.

As the veteran Vijiayaraghavachariar pointed out, sovereignty belongs to organised nation, and therefore, our first duty is to organise ourselves. The independence resolution has the advantage of giving expression to the change of the people's mentality, and to their loss of faith in Britain. It will as Mr. Satyamurti said, reverberate through the whispering galleries of the world, and every court and every ambassador will talk about it. But it has a disadvantage in this, that in spite of the assurance that it does not involve a change in the creed of the Congress, it may be interpreted by some as a change committing the Congress to only one instead of more than one interpretation of Swaraj. This doubt may place fresh obstacle in the way of that fusion of all parties in the Congress fold which recent events have rendered almost inevitable.

The Subjects Committee reassembled to-day. Before the proceedings commenced, Dr. Ansari appealed to the committee to expedite business as he and other Musalman leaders were anxious to proceed to Calcutta to attend the Muslim League and expose the humbug that was being done in the name of Muslims.

Mr. Viswanatham wanted to know the reply to his interpellations regarding the validity of the Ministers being elected to the A.I.C.C. and delegates to the Congress.

Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar said that as he was engaged with the work in the Subjects Committee he could not prepare the answer to-day. As he would be again engaged in the same work even to-day, he could not give the reply. He promised to send the reply to Mr. Viswanatham and to the press.

INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru introducing the resolution said that he took whole responsibility for it and no other had a share in its drafting. It contained a single proposition as the house was aware that the subject of the resolution was a hardy annual in the Congress sessions. He did not propose to go through the arguments for and against the resolution of independence familiar to the members. He would only like to put three or four considerations before them. Firstly the resolution gave expression to a fundamental aspiration of India; secondly there was no talk of British connection. Whether to have it or to sever it could be discussed only by a free India (Hear, Hear). It amused him to see men discussing which constitution to adopt and which constitution to reject. How could they forget that all the freedom they had was to accept the constitution thrust on them? (Hear, Hear). He wanted the Congress to put its ideal high. That their position at present was one of weakness was no objection. It was only in moments of weakness that they must remember the principles. (Hear, Hear). Thirdly, Panditjee pointed out that the resolution did not strictly speaking mean a change in the Congress creed. It was the duty of the Congress to lay down the right policy and the right goal the Congress had always when in vanguard of Indian politics and if the Congress adopted it, others also would support it. The adoption of the resolution would create a tremendous impression and he trusted that they would unanimously agree to its adoption. Sjt. Shukle seconded the resolution.

Mr. Ranchodas Gandhi (Burma) opposed the resolution on the ground that conditions in the country were not favourable for such extreme resolutions. Divided among themselves they were not the same Congress, they were few years back. Ideals without any real practical work would be no use and on that ground Mahatma Gandhi himself had been opposing this proposition in previous Congress sessions. It would stand in the way of bringing non-Congressmen into Congress with a view to fight unitedly for Swaraj.

Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra appealed to Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar to suport the resolution remarking that it would we well if at least one ex-President supported it. But Mr. Iyengar declined the invitation saying he would in his own time.

AIM OF THE CONGRESS

Mr Kandaswami Chetty, speaking in support of the resolution, remarked that it was both logical and practical and it was impossible for a man to be both dependant and independent. Mr. Nimbkar moved the following substitution for the resolution: "The aim of the Indian National Congress is complete national independence from imperialism and establishment of Swaraj based on universal adult suffrage." This was seconded by Mr. Jogleker. Another amendment moved by Mr. Satyamurti was for substituting the following for the original resolution. "This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence." There were countries, Mr. Satyamurti said, that were technically independent, but which had not got complete independence. What India wanted was national independence in the fullest sense By thus laying down the goal definitely they would realise that they had to revise it themselves. The speaker could not understand that argument that independence was more difficult of achievement than Dominion Status. If they could compel Britain to concede Dominion Status they should be able to win complete independence.

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar asked if the creed of the Congress would be changed if the resolution was carried. Swami Govindanand wanted to move an amendment defining not only the goal but also the methods of winning independence.

Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar said that no amendment could be moved at this stage. It was suggested that it might at least be read (laughter).

Dr. Ansari remarked the House must be serious.

Mr. Bidun Chander Ray withdrew his amendment, as it was the same as Mr. Satyamurthi's.

REPLY TO SIMON SHOW.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar said he supported the resolution because he was moderate and businesslike (laughter). He thought that it was the only resolution that could be supported by any man of self-respect. The resolution was a personal answer to the Simon Commission insult. It was a sequel to the Boycott resolution passed yesterday. It was Dominion Status that was the ideal, and Independence that was practical (Hear, Hear). Lord Birkenhead said recently that he had not met with any Indian who wanted Britain to withdraw her naval and military protection. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar said in reply to that arrogant assertion of arrogant Birkenhead, (laughter and applause) he was prepared to take up the challenge. He exhorted them to have courage of thought and not simply courage of expression (cheers).

A member "about courage of action, sir", (laughter).

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar said courage of action would follow courage of thought. Continunig Mr. Iyengar said that Englishman was a businessman and liked businesslike way of doing things. As a businessman, Mr. Iyengar said he thought the only way of dealing with an Englishman was to tell him "we don't want you."

FIRST AID.

Dr. Pattabhi interrupted "first knock him down sir".

Mr. Iyengar said "Yes; when Dr. Pattabhi knocks Englishman down, Srinivasa will be there to give first aid."

Proceeding Mr. Iyengar said that Dominion status was only independence with a different name. Why then, should they object to have the latter instead of the former. Dominion status required two persons to agree but independent of only one (Hear, Hear).

DR. BESANT'S OPPOSITION

Dr. Besant opposed the resolution. "It seems to me most impracticable" she said "to declare national independence and demand complete withdrawal of the alien army. Both are infinitely desirable, but for the moment, they are impractical. That is the reason why I should vote very very regretfully against the resolution. Over and over again I have said that independence is the birthright of every nationality. But if a nation wants to be independent, it must manufacture the tools whereby that independence can be maintained. You cannot ask that alien army should go on, till you have Indian officers over the Indian troops.

NEED FOR MODIFICATION

Two great forces of modern warfare are aeroplanes and artillery; but Indian officers are not trained in those. If the Army is now withdrawn, you will be defenceless in the hands of anyone who desires to invade your country. I saw H.M. the King of Afghanistan a few days back. He struck me as a most able man thoroughly understanding the conditions of the country around him. He is well supplied with aeroplanes and artillery. The Afghans are trained to manage them. You could do nothing against him without aeroplanes and artillery. If we put forward this demand, other Independent nations will laugh at us." Concluding, Mrs. Besant said that if the resolution was modified by the addition of some words such as "ultimate," her objection would go.

MR. MAHOMED ALI'S SUPPORT.

Maulana Muhammad Ali followed with a fiery reply to Mrs. Besant. In previous years, he had been opposing this resolution, but, to-day, he wanted to support it. He used to call Mrs. Besant "Mother India", but he had lately to give up that expression. Her speech to-day was so very much of the earth, that it seemed impossible from a leader of Theosophy. She talked of airmen and gunmen. She did not speak about gases manufactured by England. No doubt, the army of India did not belong to Indians. It was a tool in the hands of the Britishers who use it to mow down now some Indians, and again some Indians and again some other Indians. Even the air did not belong to Indians.

"Air is ours" said Mr. Vijayaraghavachari interrupting.

"Even air is not ours" rejoined Maulana Mahammed Ali. "Where was air for the Bengal Detenus; where was air for the Moplahs?"

NOT TO KILL BUT TO DIE.

Resuming his speech, he adverted to Mrs. Besant's remark that the world would laugh at Indians, if they passed the present resolution. But the question is not the entire world laughing at us while we constitute 320 millions, we are slaves in the hands of a thousand British civilions Mrs. Besant has said that the resolution was impracticable. It was a very practical one, he maintained. Let the Britishers kill them by gas and bombs. Indians were prepared not to kill, but to die. Who was the warrior who was more remembered than Jesus or Hussain of Karbala who died defenceless. Were they unpractical? "I want to ask England" continued Maulana Muhammad Ali, "here are some English friends, turning to Messrs Purcell and Mardy Jones. Do you think your country is so brutal that if fifty or sixty out of 320 million Indians were prepared to lay down their lives, and died under your guns and aeroplanes, they would not feel they were brutes. And would they not even then stop their brutality? What Mrs. Besant said is the greatest insult she has offered to the humanity of Great Britain.

A voice "Afghanistan also".

BE PREPARED TO DIE.

Maulana Muhammad Ali "yes; she was talking of that very practical young man the King of Afghanistan. Since when did he become practical? Here is an Afghan, pointing to an Afghan delegate. Set him a question in arithmetic. He will not be able to solve it. (Laughter). But the Afghans solved the problem of their country, because they were practical men and understood that they must be prepared to die. They had no weapons, but they had courage and desire for independence. Surely, we do not want munitions or aeroplanes. What we want, and what I confess we lack, is courage. Mr. Nimbkar can manufacture amendments (laughter). Mr. Jogleker can also do. He is to-day the slave of Russia, as he was the slave of England before (laughter).

"That is utterly false" said Mr. Jogleker.

Maulana Muhammad Ali "everybody is at liberty to utter falsehoods. You have uttered so many. Let me utter a few" (laughter).

Cries of order.

"I apologise" said Maulana Muhammad Ali. "If we died like Christ and Hussain, independence would be ours. If the Working Committee is prepared to die, (laughter.) You will get Swaraj in a month. If the All-India Congress Committee is prepared to die, we shall get Swaraj in a day (renewed laughter). If the Congress is prepared to die, you get it row" (prolonged cheering).

Mr. Sambamurti supported the resolution on behalf of the younger members who pledged their lives for the freedom of the country. He pointed out Lord Birkenhead's assertion that the responsibility for India's progress was entirely Parliament's and it was indivisable. He said it was for India to assert in reply that sovereignty rests with the Indian people and it was also indivisible.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad opposing, said the country was unprepared for independence and by passing the resolution we would make ourselves ridiculous.

Mr. Vijayaragavachari, opposing, said independence could never be a question of conscience as somebody had suggested. Nor could the Indian people claim sovereignty. When he referred to Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's support to the resolution and asked how he proposed to implement it, Mr. Iyengar retorted "Support it. You shall see."

MALAVIYA'S COUNSEL OF CAUTION.

Pandit Malavyia agreed that there could be no Indian, who did not desire to see his country completely independent. (Hear hear). The Congress resolutions stand for Dominion status, which include, the right of declaring independence.

Mr. Mahamad Ali: Never.

Pandit Malaviya: Mr. Mahomed Ali has good lungs but he has no good memory. Malaviyaji said that such a declaration was indeed the only answer, but he would advise them to proceed with caution.

THRUST AT GANDHIJI.

Mr. Shaukatali said Englishmen had finally made up their mind that India should be in perpetual bondage. Were not Indians going to make up their mind finally?

He referred to the aloofness and opposition of some No-Changers and said he believed in khaddar. But if khaddar was going to keep them away from the battlefield he would burn all their khaddar and all their charkhas. He had joined Mahatmaji, as he found him to be a man with the greatest courage If Mahatmaji was going to retire into the Ashram and say goody goody things, he was not going to follow him.

PT. JAWAHARLAL'S REPLY.

Pt. Jawaharlal replying to the debate said, that he was gratified at the reception accorded to the resolution. Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar illumined his speech with all treasures of his vast learning. Dwelling at great length on the French Revolution, Panditji wished that the distinguished veteran had carried his researches farther into 19th and 20th centuries. Panditji also expressed how he was hurt to hear Achariar calling the resolution silly. That was unjust and unfair. Mr. Acharaira "I withdraw that expression."

Continuing, the Pandit referred to other speakers who said that by passing this resolution, they would make themselves a laughing stock of the world. Panditji did not understand that objection. How could they, become the laughing stock of the world, if they declared that they wanted independence. Syria wanted and strove for independence. Egypt did it; Morocco did it. Did Syria, Morocco and Egypt become the laughing stocks of the world?

NOTHING RIDICULOUS.

Nor did the Pundit understand those who opposed the resolution on the ground of political party unity. He was afraid they were always caught in a vicious circle. When they wanted to do something, they objected to do it, on the ground it would disturb that unity. Rajendra Babu's fears also, Panditji said, were without foundation. According to Pt. Jawarharlal, Rajendra Babu and others who spoke in a like strain seemed to derive their ideas from Anglo-Indian journals, like the "Pioneer", the "Times of India" and the "Statesman". Where-

(Continued on Page 8)

BOMBAY RACES

FOURTH WINTER MEETING

SELECTIONS BY "SENEX."

THE BORIVLI PLATE—Div. I.—1-1/4 miles.

BAIG	1
ROULETTE	2
ROUMANIA	3

THE BORIVLI PLATE—Div. II.—1-1/4 miles.

HABOOB	1
TIENSTIN	2
NOMAN	3

THE ROUS HANDICAP—6 furlongs.

PACK UP	1
BRIDAULT	2
THE MONK	3

THE LINGFIELD PLATE—7 Furlongs.

POLYCHROME	1
COG-A LANE	2
GIFT O'THE GLEN	3

THE MARINE LINES PLATE—Div. II —1 mile 1 Furlong.

WELDON	1
SAVAGE	2
CHEERIO	3

THE VICTORY PLATE.—1-1/4 miles.

CANDLE HILL	1
JOHN CLANCHY	2
CHRYSOLITE	3

THE LEWES PLATE.—1 mile.

GUY'S TREE	1
SINDAGAD	2
KNIGHT'S CROSS	3

THE MARINE LINES PLATE.—Div. I.—1 mile 1 furlong

ANWAR	1
REHEARSAL	2
HILALUZZAMAN	3

JOLLIEST SINCE PRE-WAR DAYS.

CHEAP AND BEAUTIFUL SUPPLIES

LONDON, Dec. 24

This year's Christmas is likely to be the jolliest since the prewar days. Supplies for housewife are plentiful and cheap. For example, there is glut of oranges and slump in turkeys. The festival will be not-able in regard to the wireless arrangements, as far the first time, Britons in Australia will join those at home in hearing the Christmas programme. A most comprehensive programme of amusements and sports has been arranged for the holidays.—Reuter.

WHAT IS YOUR BIRTHDAY?

TO-DAY'S FORECAST. (DEC. 26TH.)

(By KAM, Chela of Himalayan Joshimaharaj Joothabhai Lakeshwal.)

SIGN OF ZODIAC: CAPRICORNUS.

If to-day is your birthday, the heavenly signs indicate that you are a human chameleon—changing your colour (like women applying thick plasters of powder and rouge) almost every hour, in all your activities. You seldom lose your head, because (if truth is to be told, and I am to be brutally frank) you have no "head." Jesus Christ knowing full well the weakness of humanity imposed only ten Commandments, but you try to impose (as the offspring of an addled pate) a thousand and one commandments on all members of your family, the net result being that not even a couple of the ten noble Commandments are observed by them. Your greatest and real "grouse" is that you find the present generation of girls rickety and susceptible to crackage, breakage against the slightest onslaught of nature, and you will be sighing for the return of the good old days in some such words: "Give me the girl of the Dear Old Days—when women 'were' women, not sticks!" Still Cupid will fling his darts cunningly, and you won't resist the temptation; and all the lying propaganda which is so necessary for a lover (or even a politician, if he wants to succeed) will be indulged in by you, freely, to capture the heart of your "ido" who, on her part, will reciprocate the lying propaganda which is called "love" in this Kaliyuga. Verily; some philosopher has wisely said that "a little sighing, a little crying, a little dying, and a great deal of lying, constitute love"!

AFGHAN KING IN EUROPE

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE'S CONFERENCE

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Moscow.—Mr. Hashim Khan, the Afghan Minister, left to-day for Naples to attend the Conference of the Afghan diplomatic representatives in Europe when King Amanullah arrives in West Europe.—Reuter's Special.

BENGAL LEGISLATURE

CALCUTTA, Dec. 25.

It is understood that the Bengal Legislative Council will meet on February 7.—A.P.

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The Bombay Chronicle.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1927.

MISCHIEVOUS TACTICS.

Our readers must be aware of the attempts that a few Muslims in the Punjab have been making to coerce the entire Indian Muslim community into acquiescing in their views by threatening a split as the alternative of such acquiescence. It seems now that in spite of the most conciliatory attitude taken by Mr. Jinnah and other leaders towards them, they are determined to bring about a split. They have gone so far as to decide to hold a separate session of the Muslim League at Lahore. Their only grievance is that the Council of the Muslim League decided at its last meeting at Delhi to hold the League session at Calcutta and not at Lahore. The objection to Calcutta is utterly groundless from every point of view. The Delhi meeting's decision was arrived at by a large majority of members. As Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Asaf Ali have clearly shown, the Secretary of the League was perfectly justified in calling the meeting, nay, the meeting was rendered absolutely necessary by the demand of several provinces for such a meeting and by the uncertainty about the Presidentship of the League's session. Besides, the whole question of the validity of the meeting was discussed at the meeting itself and decided in favour of the Secretary. The Punjab Muslims in question accepted the decision then and participated in the proceedings and discussions at this meeting. And only when the decision about the venue went against them, they began to threaten trouble. Finally, it was again and again pointed out to them that the change of venue to Calcutta was not meant to be a reflection upon Lahore but was only a matter of convenience to enable the Muslims attending the Khilafat Conference and the Muslim Educational Conference at Madras to attend the Calcutta League session in time. It was also pointed out that the decisions at the League were to be by the votes of provinces. It should, therefore, be clear to the commonest understanding that the decision of the Punjab recalcitrants to hold a seperate session of the League at Lahore is prompted by sheer defiance, if nothing worse.

It is amazing that a man of Sir Mahomed Shafi's position should lead this revolt. In an eleventh hour manifesto he declines to preside over the Calcutta session on the ground that the Delhi meeting is not valid. It is significant that he should arrive at this decision nearly two weeks after the meeting when there is but one week for the Calcutta session and that in the manifesto he issued about a week ago he did not question the validity of the Delhi meeting. Sir Mahomed has the cool audacity to put the blame on Mr. Jinnah for not accepting the former's suggestion to hold the League session at Delhi. It may be possible for Sir Mahomed to defy the League Council but not for Mr. Jinnah to do so. And no man in his senses would think of a meeting of the Council to discuss again the venue of the League which is to be held in only a week. Besides, it is only now that Sir Mahomed is suggesting Delhi as the venue. At the Delhi meeting neither he nor his followers would accept either Delhi or Agra or any other place than Lahore. It is difficult to resist the impression that there is a sinister hand behind the treacherous manoeuvres in the Punjab.

The Punjab Nationalist Muslim leaders have done a great service to the Muslim League and the Muslim community in general by promptly disowning and condemning this treacherous move. They have wired to Mr. Jinnah assuring him of their fullest support. It is clear from this prompt exposure of the Shafian strategy that prominent Muslim leaders in the Punjab like Dr. Muhammad Alam, leader of the Nationalist Party in the Punjab Legislative Council, Maulana Zafarali Khan, Maulana Abdul Qadir, Chaudhari Afzal Haq, Shaik Nissamuddin, Rana Ferozuddin and many other members of the League not only condemn the tactics of the few reactionaries but also favour the boycott of the Commission. They further state: "Speaking for the Punjab Mussalmans, the overwhelming majority is with us". We have ourselves no doubt about the truth of this statement. Muslims in other provinces, too, have taken up a thoroughly national attitude with regard to the boycott and are steadily rallying round the historic Delhi proposals of Muslim leaders subsequently ratified by the All-India Congress Committee. We are confident that the Congress, the Khilafat League and the Muslim League, will confirm both the Bombay Pact and the national boycott. And we shall soon have the happy spectacle of Hindus and Muslims composing their differences and once again, fighting side by side for their common freedom and national honour. It is, therefore, unthinkable that the whole Muslim community will allow itself to be hectored and bullied by a handful of Lahore reactionaries who may themselves be tools, willing or unwilling in the hands of the bureaucracy. As Mr. Jinnah says in regard to their tactics, "the tail cannot way the dog". The Lahore Muslims may yet rectify their grievous blunder. Their conduct in defying the considered decision of the League Council is undemocratic and un-Islamic, their revolt at a critical moment is most reprehensible. By persisting in their defiance they will only isolate themselves and cover themselves with ignominy; whereas if they state their case at the League at Calcutta, it cannot fail to receive due consideration from their own co-religionists. Whether or not these deluded people see their blunder, the duty of the Muslims is clear. We have every confidence that they will muster strong at Calcutta and that both the Muslim League and the Khilafat League will give a thoroughly national and manly lead to the Muslims and the country.

BRIGHT PROSPECTS

It seems from the proceedings of the Subjects Committee of the Congress and the press interviews of leading Congressmen in Madras that a strong resolution on the boycott of the Commission and another confirming the All-India Congress Committee's decisions on Hindu-Muslim Unity would be passed at the open session of the Congress by an overwhelming majority. The working Committee's resolution on the boycott is, as Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar observed not a "tempestuous" one but "eminently ethical and discreet". That it was seconded by no less a personage than Dr. Besant should go a long way in reassuring even non-Congressmen that the resolution is workable. Pandit Malaviya, speaking on the resolution, was in his best militant mood. Regarding the clause in the resolution calling upon Congressmen to vacate the Councils during the stay of the Commission in India except for some specified purposes, the Pandit said the vacating "must not be only for the period of the Commission's stay in India, they must all get away from the Councils". "The Ministers," he added, "must not be there. No self-respecting Indian can remain as Minister." He withdrew his amendment deleting the ban on social functions given to the Commission but his amendment permitting Congressmen's stay in the Councils "for the purpose of preventing obnoxious measures" was accepted by the Subjects Committee. We trust that at the open session of the Congress the modifications of the resolution will be such as would secure for it the support not only of the Congress but of the country as a whole. The text of the Working Committee's resolution on Hindu-Muslim Unity embodies the whole of the Bombay Pact. That Pact has received more and more support from both Hindus and Muslims ever since it was formulated in Bombay. As Maulana Mahomed Ali has pointed out in his press interview, the Muslim League of the United Province at Meerut, the Jamiat ul-Ulema at Peshawar and large Muslim sections in other parts of India have wholeheartedly accepted the Pact. If many other leaders had made as strenuous efforts as Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and Mr. Mahomed Ali to popularise the Pact, the result would have been better still. We share Mr. Mahomed Ali's confident hope that the All-India Muslim League will confirm it. We are certain it will be adopted by the Congress wholeheartedly. That Pact is the greatest achievement of the Congress leaders this year and the Congress will not fail to show its grateful appreciation of that achievement, which will be a more lasting basis of Hindu-Muslim Unity than was the Lucknow Pact.

FACILITIES FOR STUDY.

The informative speech, at the Royal Asiatic Society, by Srimant Balasaheb, Chief of Aundh, was marked by an earnestness that could not fail to impress those who listened to him and witnessed the care with which he had prepared the various autochrome slides on Ajanta. The earnestness was, evidently, not merely diffused enthusiasm. It had the genuine note of the artist whose undistracted devotion helps him to retain the precious privilege of a student of art. Both in the preparation of the slides and in the arrangements of his speech could be discerned, therefore, the eagerness to help, practically, the legitimate ambitions of the aspiring artist. The pictures projected on the screen were, unlike the usual medley, purposive. He concluded his speech with a very opportune appeal for continued assistance to Indian students eager to recreate for India its lofty visions in art. He, like every dispassionate and informed observer, knows that one of the greatest obstacles in the path of the younger generation of artists is the almost total lack of the facilities necessary for an adequate study of the artistic wealth they inherit as a national legacy. The guidance and inspiration, direct from the objects of artistic importance, is often overlooked. But that guidance is, surely, even more important to the creative impulses and ideas of the young devotees of art than the sentimental and academic sterilities commonly mistaken for information and guidance. We hope, therefore, that Srimant Balasaheb's appeal for the necessary assistance to the students will soon meet with adequate response.

CHANGING TIMES IN CUTCH.

DISAPPEARING INSULARITY

(BY MAVJI GOVINDJI SETH).

Cutch is usually a sleepy hollow separated from the great mainland of India by a great desert in the North, marshes in the East and the Gulf of Cutch in the South. Very few take an interest in this isolated territory living its life of poverty and obscurity.

The Ruler being anxious to continue the old-world traditions allows the isolation to continue, and the people are contented with obscurity, tending their herds and living their lives like those of Goldsmith's Sweet Auburn, the world forgetting, by the world forgotten.

Ambition, enterprise or progress have no place here, and if under these circumstances any are born with a keen desire for growth and advancement they are flung out by an automatic push of the spirit of the time to enrich more hospitable clients. Cutch is not the place for the progress-loving or the intellectually prolific, and hence all growth except the physical is stunted. A man in advance of his times is an anachronism in this sleepy hollow, and hence the Cutchi at home and the Cutchi abroad are two different specimens widely different in growth though coming from the same stock.

GREAT COLONISERS.

A glance at the growth of Bombay and Karachi—two of the many places which the Cutchis have successfully colonised will convince even a casual observer of the magnificent part played by these sturdy emigrants from Cutch, in their upbuilding to what they are to-day.

The important B Ward of the Bombay Municipality derives its very name from the once-flourishing port of Mandvi of Cutch. First in trade and commerce, first in bold enterprise, the universal charity of the Cutchis has blessed the abodes of men wherever Cutchis have settled down. Places far apart as Bangaiore and Jharia are adorned by many benefactions depending on the generosity of the settlers of Cutch. Having been tradesmen by instinct and tradition their incursions into the domain of the intellectuals are few and far between. Literature, law, medicine, engineering, and other higher professions are seldom invaded by the scions of this adventurous race But their contribution to arts and industries, and trade and commerce is phenomenal. And even oustide India they have migrated far and wide in search of more hospitable clients. The Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the East Coast of Africa are all studded with colonists where the Memon, the Khoja, the Bania or the Luhana from Cutch are busy with the problem of accumulating and distributing the wealth of different countries. And these colonists are not of recent growth.

NEW FORCES.

Before the British came on the scene the revenues of the Sultan of Zanzibar were administered by traders from Cutch, whose decendents are even to-day known as Sualis. And all along the Malabar Cost the inlets of the Arabian Sea are scoured by dhows from the Ports of Mundra and Mandavi for the purchase of mullasis and cocoanuts etc. Some of them return periodically to visit their motherland and to find it so different. This naturally breeds discontent. But his proverbial loyalty has all along prevented the Cutchi from doing anything to allow this discontent to find expression.

Nature, however, suffers no vacuum, and the world forces cannot brooke of isolation. And the recent visit of the Viceroy shows that the insularity of Cutch cannot last very long.

And the movement has begun at both ends. The Ruler is building a new Port for international trade and commerce, and the ruled have set up an organisation demanding radical changes in the old and archaic machinery of administration and claiming a direct voice in the shaping of the policies of the State. The law of change is the changeless law of nature and Cutch cannot very long escape from its insistant workings. The heart may be unwilling, the hand may be tardy, but the divine mills of Change though they grind slowly they will grind surely even in Cutch.

At this critical juncture in the history of Cutch let wisdom steer the course of action avoiding rashness on the one hand over-cautiousness or the other. If both the Ruler and the ruled pull together towards the common goal the future of Cutch is bright indeed. The Ruler may blame the paucity of the gifts of Nature, but the world knows many wildernesses that have been transformed by the hands of men into busy beesives. The bees are ready and willing and anxious to take the honey from far off climes into their hive if things will permit. The bees are humming at the doors asking for entrance. Will the hive open up?

THE NEW RESERVE BANK BILL

WHY IT SHOULD BE REJECTED

To the Editor of "The Chronicle."

Sir,—Whilst our country men are rightly absorbed in the problem of boycotting the Simon Commission, there is a danger that another problem which affects and is going to affect still further the very foundations of the Indian National welfare may be treated as a subsidiary matter, with the possibility that a Reserve Bank designed to work, control and manipulate the Gold Bullion Standard may become an established fact. The bill for the establishment of a Reserve Bank has not been finally shelved: Sir Basil Blackett has just returned after full consultation with banking and financial experts in London and after getting himself thoroughly acquainted with the city opinion in London and the attitude of the British Treausry and the Finance Committee of the India Council. It is believed that he has a revised scheme in his pocket which so modifies the directorate of the proposed Bank that it is likely to be accepted by those members who have spent all their energy on criticising the composition of the directorate. This scheme for a Reserve Bank will come up for consideration before the Imperial Legislature early next year. It will translate into practice the proposals of the Hilton Young Commission in which our Indian members were so skilfully hynotised into a blind admiration of a currency and monetary organisation which is inaccurately and loosely compared with that which Great Britain has accidentally stumbled on as the result of her war difficulties.

Will you permit us to point out through your columns the dangers into which this country is being rushed by the present proposals for a Central Reserve Bank? A Central Reserve Bank collecting into a single reservoir the scattered savings of millions and redistributing these savings through a highly organised banking machinery into channels where they can fertilise the soil, fostering agriculture, helping commerce and financing industries, and empowered to carry out these objects by the right of note issue and the creation and control of currency and credit is a factor in national welfare whose potentialities we fully realise at the present stage of India's economic development. But may we urge the members of the Imperial Legislature who are going to consider the bill for the Reserve Bank to realise the importance of keeping clear before their minds the following considerations?

1. A Gold Bullion Standard (?) such as that which works in Great Britain today is a currency mechanism used by an autonomous country in its own interests, and worked by an agency carefully watched and controlling by an enlightened public opinion led by bankers and financiers. Our Gold Bullion Standard if we once accept this insidious device will be worked by a Reserve Bank practically worked by managing Governors and controlled mostly by our Rulers whose interests are not necessarily identical with the interest of the country. We must guard ourselves against this danger of the abuse of the Reserve Bank, and we can guard only by one sound measure—and that is by having a Central Reserve Bank with a full and effective gold standard, which imperfect as it is as an instrument for securing absolute stability of prices, will secure relative stability of prices and exchanges and will prevent manipulations of our whole monetary organisation to the

(Continued on page 3.)

Notes of the Day.

Awakening of Asia.

There will be considerable astonishment amongst nationalists all over the country at the attitude Mr. George Joseph adopted towards the very pertinent and necessary resolution Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru brought forward at the Subjects Committee meeting of the Congress at Madras. That body passed it unanimously. It could not have done otherwise. There is no person in India to whatever school of politics he or she may belong who can withhold sympathy from the people of China in the fight for emancipation. Nor can he look on with equanimity at the fact that Indian troops should be used for the Imperial purposes of exploitation and aggrandisement. Mr. George Joseph, whose burning sense of patriotism has never been in doubt, may stigmatise resolutions of sympathy with China and of protest against the use of Indian troops abroad for Imperial purposes as resolutions "savouring of futility". But that the Indian National Congress should be asked to pass them is an indication that India means to take a vivid and valiant part in the general awakening in Asia. Indians are denied freedom but that is no reason why they should be asked to consider it futile to express sympathy for others fighting for the same precious birthright.

England of the East.

Unless the Japanese working classes and the few, altogether very few, leaders from the middle classes in the Land of the Rising Sun who sympathise with the proletariat put forth gigantic efforts to make their voice heard and resist the rapidly advancing tide of Capitalist exploitation in Japan, that country will come to be regarded all over the world as the England of the East. It will be associated not only in the mind of all subject peoples of the world but in the mind of all those in Europe and America who are striving for the establishment of real democracy and freedom from Imperialist-cum-Capitalist domination, as the one nation amongst Orientals which is busy following the political path trodden by the British Empire makers. The First Pan-Asiatic Conference at Nanking has given Japan a timely warning not to travel along that path. The Japanese policy of aggression and exploitation in Korea and Manchuria is sure in the long run to make it the most hated nation in the East. It may enjoy the friendship of Britain, but it will forfeit all claim to leadership in raising Asia to her resplendent position of old.

Responsive Boycott.

"England has boycotted India. India must boycott England." This was the sentiment of responsive boycott running through the splendid speech of Dr. Annie Besant in the Subjects Committee Session of the Congress at Madras. How to make the boycott effective could be left to the leaders of the Congress. No generic, warned Mrs. Besant, declares his strategy beforehand. We do hope the presence on the side of the boycotters of this warrior of eighty years who has fought many a hard battle in the fight for oppression and injustice, who has a vision of a Free India coming into existence the moment Indian fratricidal quarrels cease, will encourage the wobblers in our midst, who are not for the boycott because it cannot be made "wholly effective" to cease to belong to a microscopic minority and join the colours of the great army preparing to give battle. Mrs. Besant's invincible courage, her optimism and her phenomenal energy should silence all croakers and make them revise their ideas about pocketting the national insult with mere protests.

In A Good Cause.

To those who believe that real salvation of India is possible only through the upliftment and redemption of our womenfolk it will be a pleasure to learn that Bombay will have in its midst for a few weeks, L. Dev Rajji, the pioneer and veteran worker in the Punjab in the field of women's education. He is the President of the Kanya Maha Vidyalya, Jullundur (Punjab), the only institution in Northern India, that has been imparting higher education to girls free of charge on purely national lines for the last 38 years. He comes with a deputation to this town for general propaganda work and the collection of funds. The Vidyalaya has earned now a great reputation and has been attracting students from all the various provinces of India, including the Bombay Presidency. Girls from even such distant climes as Africa and Fiji have numbered among its students, and all the notable leaders of the country and eminent educationists have spoken very highly of it from time to time. We have no hesitation in asserting that the Maha Vidyalya mission deserves the best and most sympathetic consideration and active cooperation at the hands of our philanthropist merchant-princes. A permanent fund is the great need of the institution and we hope Bombay will not fail to respond liberally to the appeal of the Deputation.

R. ANSARI'S CLARION CALL

Unity in Country, Congress & Council

NEED FOR ASIATIC FEDERATION.

SUPPORT BOMBAY PACT

BOYCOTT THE COMMISSION

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

"I wish to urge that the country should lose no time in preparing itself for the next more forward. I urge that all our energies and resources be concentrated on fighting the enemy residing inside our body politic, namely, communal and political discord." These words of Dr. Ansari form the keynote of his masterly Presidential address at the 42nd session of the Indian National Congress at Madras.

Dr. Ansari begins by observing that a large part of the world is in the grip of Imperialism and "the greed of High Finance." He thinks that "the only hope of succeeding in our efforts to check the forces of European Imperialism and Capitalism lies in the Eastern nations coming closer and taking a more intimate interest in the problems facing them" so as to facilitate the consummation of the scheme of Asiatic Federation adumbrated by Deshbandhu Das.

As regards the preparation for "our next encounter", Dr. Ansari emphatically declares that the first and foremost essential is unity throughout: unity in the country, unity in the Congress and unity in the Councils, if people must still make use of them. He beseeches Hindus and Muslims to accept the Bombay Pact, which he regards as "a great advance on the Lucknow Pact of 1916" and "just and fair to both."

Dr. Ansari presses for "an immediate and country-wide reorganisation of the Congress" he appeals to all those who shall desire to go to the Council "to close their ranks and form one People's Party of Opposition on the basis of the Congress Programme."

MR. MUDALIAR'S PLEA FOR SINN FEINISM

doors of the Congress thrown wide open to s and we should stop short of a surrender principles to bring back arty to the Congress."

the President's address.

ing is the full text of Dr. idential address at the 42nd e Indian National Congress

gates, Ladies and Gentle-

I find it difficult to put into words my deep sense of gratitude at the confidence you have placed in me by calling upon me to preside over the deliberations of the Indian National Congress, at this critical juncture in the history of our struggle for freedom. This meeting of the Congress, at Madras, takes me back to the day—more than a quarter of a century ago—when as an under-graduate, full of hope and enthusiasm, I had my first glimpse of our great national gathering. Little did I dream then that in that very city it would fall to my lot to occupy the chair which has been filled in the past by some of the greatest sons of India. Our national movement has increased in force and volume since those days. Th political awakening of the people has become widespread, the intensity of the struggle has become more severe and, with the march of time, the problems we are called upon to solve have grown more and more complex. The task of your President has in consequence, become delicate and difficult. It was only the hope that I could count upon your indulgence towards my shortcomings and your generous support in the discharge of my duties that encouraged me to undertake this heavy responsibility.

The inter-dependence of political problems in different countries and the dangers arising out of the economic and political bondage of India to the peaceful progress of humanity at large, specially to the interests of the workers in Great Britain, are being gradually realised and while Imperialist and Capitalist interests are carrying on an organised campaign of misrepresentation and vilification against India in order to justify and perpetuate its exploitation and subservience, the presence, among us to-day, of the distinguished fraternal delegates from across the seas, gives hope that fellow-victims of Imperialism and Capitalism in other parts of the world have begun to appreciate the necessity of closer co-operation and joint action to fight the common enemy. I offer these friends a sincere and cordial welcome on behalf of the Indian National Congress and the people of India.

A matter of greater pleasure and satisfaction to me is that my appeal for a re-united Congress has met with such a generous response. I rejoice to find among us once more veterans and tried champions whose names are inseparably associated with India's fight for freedom. I cordially welcome all these comrades and fellow-workers back to the fold of the Congress and hope and pray that, as in the past so in the future, the country will derive the fullest benefit from their services.

INDIA AND IMPERIALISM.

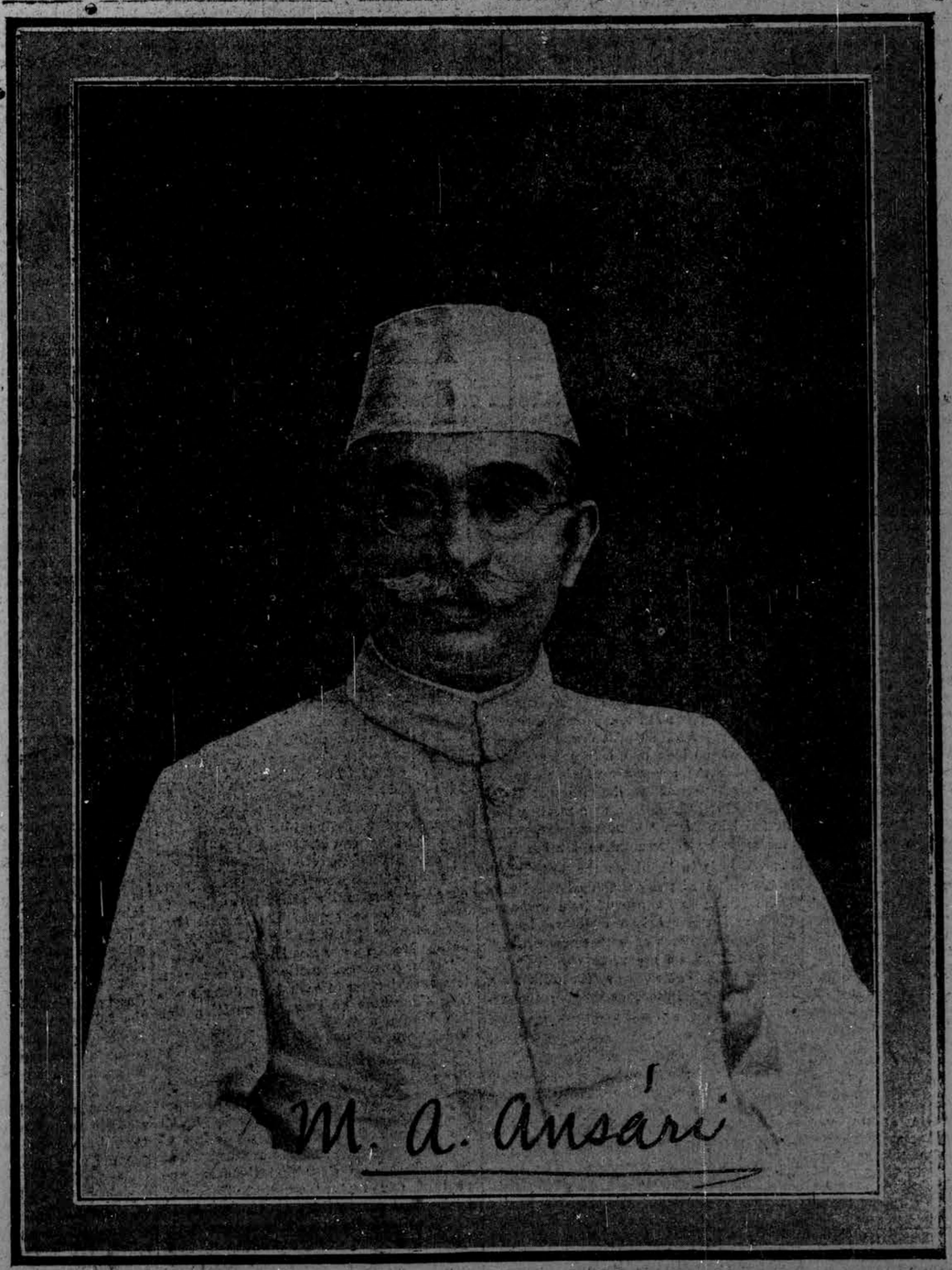
In the statement I published some time back I had touched upon the salient features of the existing political situation and briefly expressed my own views regarding the most effective method of dealing with it. I do not, therefore, propose to address you at great length today. But even in a brief survey we must take into account every issue that has a direct bearing on the furtherance of our political programme. All schools of political thought in India are agreed that the goal of our activities is a free and self-governing India, offering equal opportunities to all and recognising and guaranteeing the just and legitimate rights of all sections and classes, at peace within herself and friendly with the rest of the world. Indians do not claim anything more or less than that they shall occupy the same position and enjoy the same rights in their country as free people do in their own. If this can be achieved within the Empire they have no desire to break away from it, but if the Imperial Connection stands in the way of our reaching the goal we should not hesitate to sever that Connection. Our motto, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, should be "within the Empire if possible, without if necessary."

I do not minimise the difficulties in our path. They are many but none so formidable as the one arising out of the aggressiveness of Imperialism and the greed of High Finance, the two most fruitful sources of trouble and misery in the world to-day. Empires are carved and nations are deprived of their liberties to satisfy the Imperialist ambition and to monopolise resources in raw materials to feed the factories in Europe and to secure exclusive markets for their output.

Politicians and statesmen wax eloquent over the "mission civilisatrice" and the "white man's burden" but none has exposed the hollowness of these professions better than Cecil Rhodes, the great pioneer of Imperialism in South Africa, when he said, "Pure philanthropy is very well in its way but philanthropy plus five per cent. is a good deal better." Joseph Chamberlain, that Highpriest of Imperialism, was more outspoken. "The Empire," he said, "is commerce and India, he was frank enough to add, was "by far the greatest and the most valuable of all the customers we have or ever shall have." Tires of the strong. The history of this philanthropic burglary on the part of Europe is written in blood where brought out and suffering from Congo to Canton. The steel-frame theory of government, the arrogant claims to trusteeship of dumb millions and the newly-invented illusion to cloak the pre-war Concert of Europe, known as the League of Nations, are but different manifestations of the same spirit. So long as these dangerous doctrines are pursued the sources of human misery shall endure. India holds in her hands the remedy for this universal misfortune, for she is the key-stone of the arch of Imperialism. Once India is free the whole edifice will collapse. The best guarantee for the freedom of Asia and the peace of the world, is a free and self-governing India.

CONGRESS POLICIES.

The problem then is how to free India. For over a generation the leaders of public opinion in the country advocated and practised a policy of complete Co-operation with the Government. That policy was doomed to failure from its very inception. Co-operation is possible between groups with common ideals. Where objects pursued are diametrically opposed there can be no co-operation. Co-operation in such circumstances can only mean



DR. ANSARI, PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS SESSION AT MADRAS.

"No sane or self-respecting Indian can ever admit the claim of Great Britain to be the sole judge of the measure and time of India's political advance. We can have no part or lot in a Commission which has been appointed in direct defiance of the declared will of the people of India."

—From the President's address.

"The problem of Hindu-Muslim differences must be solved once and for all and there is no organ more competent and better fitted to put an end to it than the Indian National Congress."

—From the President's address.

"If they must go to the councils, the least that the country expects of them is that instead of allowing their opponents to take advantage of the divisions in their ranks, they will join forces with other nationalist groups to form a People's Party of Opposition and present a united front."

—From the President's address.

"Let us concentrate on the largest common measure of agreement rather than emphasise points of disagreement. After all, the points on which we agree are many and those on which we disagree but few."

—From the President's address.

(Continued on next page.)

"The Swaraj we are fighting for will be neither Hindu Raj nor Muslim Raj. It will be joint Raj protecting the just and legitimate rights and privileges of all."

—From the President's address.

ANSARI'S CLARION CALL

NITY IN COUNTRY, CONGRESS AND COUNCIL

(Continued from previous page.)

made it impossible for the rulers to pre-sent their autocratic and high-handed actions as representing the declared will of the people expressed through its chosen representatives. But all this has not materially advanced our cause nor has it brought us any nearer our goal, while the price paid for it is too clear. It has diverted the energies of some of our ablest men from problems of real national importance. The Council Programme, adopted at a time of depression, was professedly in the nature of an experiment. We gave it a trial and if it has not fulfilled our expectations there is no reason to feel discouraged or disappointed. Let us revise our policy in the light of our past experience.

N. C. O. COME TO STAY.

There are no two opinions regarding our goal. We all desire to see India free and self-governing. For the achievement of our object we are not wedded to any particular policy, nor do we consider any programme 'sacrosanct' or binding for ever. We have to judge a policy or a programme by its suitability to our peculiar social and political conditions, by its practicability and by the results which it is likely to give within a measurable period of time. We have now before us the results of three experiments made by the Congress during the last forty years the broken period of thirty-f ration, about a year operation and four ye Obstruction within nstitutional Dealo ge, appraise the amme and judg nd demerits of d us whereas Councils has non its. Non-Co-ex chieve all that own it was through high bility to rise any it and not on-Co-of that polic Non-fail us, wean un- er. I also admit that i atmosphere of mutual suspic and hatred created by deplorable comm nal quarrels and with the whole country divided into hostile political camps and factious groups, there is no prospect of an immediate resumption of Non-Co-operation. The spirit of Non-Co-operation, however, has come to stay as a potent force in Indian politics and as I have said elsewhere, "I feel as certain as ever that apart from very extraordinary and unexpected occurrences we shall win back our freedom only by self-discipline, self-organisation and self-help and through a movement in which we would be obliged to resort to direct action in some shape or form. I firmly believe that India is only recuperating from the moral and material effects of a distrous war and would soon emerge once more resuscitated and rejuvenated to attain what it is destined to attain."

How best then can we have this process of resuscitation and rejuvenation and prepare ourselves for the next encounter? It is my unshakable belief that this cannot be done unless we have established Unity in the country, Unity in the Congress and Unity in the Councils, if people must still make use of them. Differences of opinion are inevitable. They have existed and will continue to exist. What we have to learn is the stage at which these differences, if persisted in, become injurious to the general interest of the country. We must learn to differentiate between personal prestige and public weal and to sacrifice individual gain to the collective good.

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS.

There is no feature of the Indian political situation more disquieting than the shameful quarrels between Hindus and Mussalmans. No language can be too strong to condemn the murderous assaults and callous destruction of life and property in riotings which occur with such painful frequency. Hardly a day passes when we do not hear of some violent outburst of communal fury in one part of the country or the other, leaving its legacy of bitterness and hatred threatening to reduce the country to one vast camp of warring communal factions bent on destroying each other. It is due to this that the Congress itself has lost in popularity. It is being relegated in many Provinces to a secondary position, preference is being given to communal organisations, specially those which are allowed to continue any longer. The problem of Hindu-Muslim differences must be solved once and for all and there is no organisation more competent and better fitted to put an end to it than the Indian National Congress.

> "The only hope of success in our efforts to check the forces of European Imperialism and Capitalism lies in Eastern nations coming closer and taking a more intimate interest in the problems facing them."
> —From the President's address.

While attempting to solve the Hindu-Muslim question we should not, however, mistake the symptom for the disease. The political and religious differences which are stressed during the relations between the two communities are but outward manifestations of deeper conflict, not peculiar to India or unknown to history. It is essentially a problem of two different cultures coming in close contact with each other. The best remedy lies in a recognition of the right of each culture to exist, in a development of a spirit of tolerance and respect and in the encouragement and cultivation of cultural contacts by the establishment of national institutions where young people of both communities will come into touch with each other and get opportunities to know and understand the ideals underlying the civilisations of both. The educated Indian is forced by circumstances to study European culture but knows little or nothing about the culture of his fellow-countryman living next door. It is time this dangerous isolation and consequent ignorance were ended. With greater knowledge of each other's deep-rooted sentiments and sympathy for each other's ideals, questions of separate representation, cow-slaughter and music before mosques will become matters of the past, of interest only to research scholars of Indian History.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL.

In the meantime, we cannot afford to minimise or neglect the problem which faces us to-day. There are certain fundamental facts which it will be well for Hindus and Mussalmans to remember.

> "The best guarantee for the freedom of Asia and the peace of the world is a free and self-governing India."
> —From the President's address.

They should not forget that they are Indians destined to live in India and die in India. Providence has bound their fates together indissolubly. If there be any Hindu brother of mine who imagines that he can get rid of seventy millions of his Muslim fellow-countrymen he is labouring under a great delusion and the sooner he is disillusioned the better for him and the country. Similarly if any Muslim brother of mine is dreaming of lording it over two hundred and fifty millions of his Hindu countrymen he is living in a fool's paradise and the sooner he opens his eyes the better for the Muslim community and India. Swaraj we are striving for will be neither Hindu Raj nor Muslim Raj. It will be a Joint Raj protecting the just and legitimate rights and previleges of all. Perpetual warfare cannot be the normal state of human Society. The worker in the communal cause apparently wishes to improve the economic, political and educational position of his community. With this I have no quarrel. But for any solid and lasting good to be done either to a group or to a nation, tranquility and peace are essential conditions. Violent communal outbursts may benefit any other party, they certainly cannot benefit the country nor do they serve even exclusive communal interests. Instead of resorting to these barbarous methods of setting differences, I would appeal to my countrymen to make use of the great national tribunal, the custodian of the rights and privileges of all sections and communities inhabiting this country, the Indian National Congress, for the protection of their rights and the redress of their grievances.

A subject people trying to shake off foreign domination cannot afford to carry on an internecine struggle. We cannot in one breath talk of freedom and such communalism, for they are the very antithesis of each other. It would be difficult for an outside observer to believe in the genuineness of our demand when he observes the fratricidal war we are waging to-day. Our very patriotism begins to appear a sham. In our efforts to gain a little advantage here and a little advantage there over our rivals, we are unconsciously playing into the hands of the common adversary whose position is being strengthened every day. Can we not all with one joint effort and determination get rid of this degrading mentality? Self-respect, even self-interest, requires us to enlarge our vision and look beyond momentary and sectional advantage to the lasting national gain.

HINDU-MUSLIM DIFFERENCES

The causes of communal antagonism exercising the minds of the leaders of the two communities as brought out at the various Unity Conferences crystallise themselves into two distinct groups—Political and Religious.

> "Money can make trenches but men alone can man them. The real defence of the country lies in tackling the problem of manhood and improving the general health of the nation."
> —From the President's address.

It will serve no useful purpose to enter into a description how the Mussalmans fearing that the sense of political responsibility of the majority was not sufficiently advanced to trust it with the protection of their rights, demanded separate representation and separate electorates. It is a matter of past history and every one in this assembly is fully aware of it. It is enough for our present purpose to state that, realising the disastrous consequences recent developments were likely to lead to, the Indian National Congress, at its annual session last year at Gauhati, called upon the All-India Congress Committee to devise measures for a settlement of the trouble in these terms:—

"This Congress calls upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with the Hindu and Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable disturbances between Hindus and Mussalmans and submit a report to the All-India Congress Committee, not later than the 31st March, 1927. This Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to issue the necessary instructions in that behalf to all Congressmen in the country and take such other steps as it may deem fit after consideration of the said report."

DELHI PROPOSALS.

Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Chairman, Reception Committee, Madras Congress.

The President got into touch with the leaders of public opinion in both the communities. He travelled extensively all over the country to mobilise the good sense and active co-operation of both communities and, finally, arranged a series of conversations at Delhi. It is a great tribute to the sincerity, zeal and indefatigable energy of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, that a formula for settlement of outstanding political differences was at last discovered. I would be lacking in my duty if I did not place on record the appreciation of the Indian National Congress of the spirit of patriotism and statesmanship displayed by the Muslim leaders who rose above prejudice, suspicion and narrow communal outlook and boldly came forward with the proposals which presage a new orientation of Muslim policy in India. The Working Committee, at a meeting held on the 15th May, "considered the proposals made by representative Muslim leaders who met in Delhi, on the 20th March last, as well as the opinion of the Hindu Maha Sabha and other Hindu organisations and the opinions of other leaders and representatives of both communities," and submitted its report to the All-India Congress Committee, on the 16th May, 1927. The resolution, embodying the recommendations of the Working Committee, passed by the All-India Congress Committee, with the unanimous support of all the members present, including some of the foremost leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha, speaks volumes for the political sagacity of the Committee and was a personal triumph for the President and his great powers of persuasion.

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS.

"The All-India Congress Committee approves and adopts the report of the Working Committee on the Hindu-Muslim quesion and the recommendations contained therein and calls upon all Congress organisations to take necessary steps to have the following recommendations carried out:—

1. That in any future scheme of constitution, so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted.

2. That, with a view to give full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures for the present, and if desired, such representation of the communities should be secured by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature;

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities including the Sikhs in the Punjab may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces, and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces.

3. (a) That the proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is, in the opinion of the Committee, a fair and reasonable one, and should be given effect to, care being taken that simultaneously with other measures of administrative reform an adequate system of judicial administration shall be introduced in the said provinces.

3. (b) (i) That with regard to the proposal that Sind should be constituted into a separate province, this Committee is of opinion that the time has come for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis—a principle that has been adopted by the constitution of the Congress.

(ii) The Committee is also of opinion that such readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any province which demands such reconstitution on a linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly.

(iii) The Committee is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Sind and Karnatak into separate provices.

4. That, in the future Constitution, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, central or provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience.

"Liberty of Conscience" means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others.

5. That no Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment regarding intercommunal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment.

"Inter-communal matters" means matters agreed upon as such by a Joint Standing Committee of both communities, of the Hindu and Muslim members of the legislatures concerned, appointed at the comencement of every session of the legislature."

A GREAT ADVANCE.

This resolution is a great advance on the Lucknow Pact of 1916, which has so far regulated Hindu-Muslim relations. Its terms are so clear that there is no need of any further comment from me. I should, however, like to emphasise the importance of the decision regarding joint electorates. The one great cause of friction so far has been separate electorates. If the success of a candidate at elections depends entirely on the votes of his co-religionists the tendency to exaggerate and accentuate points of communal friction and division in order to catch votes is inevitable. The resolution, while making the fullest possible allowance for the fear of minorities regarding adequate protection, by reservation of seats, presents fresh opportunities for the development of a spirit of friendliness and mutual confidence, the best augury for a United India.

The acceptance of the principle of representation on the basis of population puts our electoral system on a just and equitable basis. It puts an end, on the one hand, to the dissatisfaction felt at the preferential treatment accorded to minorities and, on the other, removes the grievance of the majorities in Bengal and Punjab which were reduced to minorities. At the same time, the special interests of minorities have been safeguarded by the provision that if a three-fourths majority of their representatives oppose any measure affecting their interests it shall not even be discussed or moved.

The right of the Indian National Congress to settle communal differences has been challenged in certain quarters. It has been contended that the Congress has no jurisdiction in inter-communal matters, whether political or religious. I hold that no communal organisation or organisations put together, can supersede the Congress or enjoy even a parallel jurisdiction. The Indian National Congress is not meant for registering the decrees issued by the different communal organisations. It is primarily and essentially the only organisation that can deal with such matters and hold the balance even between community and community. If leaders of comunal groups can come to a just and amicable agreement on any questions agitating the minds of their respective communities, the Congress would unhesitatingly welcome it. But if they fail to arrive at an agreement the Congress, as the paramount national organisation, must step in and perform its obvious duty of adjusting comunal relations and preserving communal peace and harmony undeterred by petulant threats and challenges from angry and disgruntled communalists.

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES.

So far as political differences are concerned, the Congress adopted a satisfactory formula for their solution at Bombay. But religious and social points of difference still remained to be settled and the President gave the leaders of the two communities an opportunity at Simla, to come to an agreement on them. When the protracted negotiations ended in a fiasco, the President took advantage of the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to be held at Calcutta and issued invitations to prominent Hindu and Muslim leaders to give the Committee the benefit of their advice and help him and the Committee to complete the good work begun at Bombay. The result of these efforts is summed up in the two resolutions passed at the Unity Conference and adopted by the All-India Congress Committee.

> "Well might India complain, 'some are born drunkards, others contract the habit, and some have drunkenness thrust upon them.' "
> —From the President's address.

1. Convention:—The All-India Congress Committee resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuasion but no individual or group shall attempt to do so, or prevent its being done, by force, fraud or other unfair means such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardian by persons of another faith, he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy as to the person, place, time or manner about any conversion or re-conversion, nor should there be any demonstration or jubilation in support of any conversion or re-conversion.

Whenever my complaint is made in respect of any conversion or re-conversion, that it was effected in secrecy or by force, fraud or other unfair means, or whenever any person under eighteen years of age is converted, the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators who shall be appointed by the Working Committee either by name or under general regulations."

2. Cow and Music:—"The All-India Congress Committee, while approving of the following resolution on the Cow and Music question as a fair settlement of opposite demands and points-of-view, authorises members of the Congress to carry on propaganda among Hindus and Muslims along the lines indicated in the resolution and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a Sub-Committee for the purpose of carrying on such propaganda:

And further resolves that the resolution do come up for confirmation at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress to be held in Madras:—

'Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community but the free pr practice of religion should public order and morality, teed to every community ar

Hindus are at liberty to sions and play music befor at any time for religious poses, but there should be of the processions nor specia tions in front of a mosque songs or music sung or play of a mosque be such as is cause annoyance or special di the worshippers in the mosq

Muslims are at liberty to or, subject to existing mu regulating the slaughter of purposes of food, to slaug any town or village, in an ring a more welfare nor one in the vicinity of a temple or a 'mandir' nor one exposed to the gaze of Hindus.

Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter.

Having regard to the deep-rooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow-killing, the Muslim community is earnestly appealed to, so to conduct the cow sacrifice or slaughter as not to cause annoyance to the Hindus of the town or village concerned.'

Whenever a complaint is made that any of the provisions of this resolution have been contravened, it shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators appointed by the Working Committee by name or under general regulations and their decision shall be final."

Efforts at composing communal differences in the past have been handicaped by attempts on the part of one community to impose restrictions on the enjoyment of its rights by the other. The result was that instead of removing mistrust and suspicion and creating a respect of each other's religious sentiments the solution generally led to a further intensification of the strife. The resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee are based on the recognition of complete freedom of each community to enjoy its rights to minimum restrictions necessary for peaceful corporate social life. The fear of any curtailment of their rights having been once removed, an appeal to the higher sentiments of the two communities, to their spirit of toleration and forbearance, is bound to have greater chance of success. It is not impossible that each community may even voluntarily forego a portion of the enjoyment of its rights out of regard for the sentiment and feelings of the other.

The Congress has given a definite lead. It has prescribed a potent remedy to eradicate the communal canker which has been eating into the very vitals of our body politic. It is now for us Congressmen to carry on a vigorous propaganda to explain and popularise these resolutions and to bring them home to the Hindu and Muslim public all over the country. I earnestly appeal to every well-wisher of India, irrespective of his political creed, to lend a helping hand to the Congress in this noble cause. Specially do I appeal to the Press of the country to realise its great responsibility in the matter. There is no other agency which plays such an important part in the moulding of public opinion and the regulation of inter-communal relations. It is the powerful instrument for good or for evil and I regret to say that throughout this unhappy communal crisis, our Press, especially the vernacular Press, has not exercised its influence for the good. With very few noble exceptions it has actually fanned the flames of conflict and lamentably failed in the discharge of its duties. I cannot have any complaint against the Anglo-Indian newspapers. They naturally serve the interests that maintain them. But is it too much to except from our own journals and journalists that they will subordinate their selfish considerations to the supreme interest of common national good and ally themselves with forces working for the restoration of concord and amity? The conduct of News-Agencies in the country has not been altogether satisfactory either. Let us hope that they too will contribute their share to the restoration and maintenance of unity in the country. Let us all realise that it is a matter of life and death for

(Continued on page 10.)

> "Common culture interest should facilit summation of the sch Asiatic Federation ad by the great patriot, De Chitta Ranjan. Das."
> —From the President's

> "Whatever be the final form of the Constitution, one thing may be said with some degree of certainty that it will have to be on Federal lines, providing for a United States of India, with the existing Indian States as autonomous units of the Federation."
> —From the President's address.

EMULATE EGYPT'S EXAMPLE

MUSLIMS AND STATUTORY COMMISSION.

NEED FOR LEAGUE OF ASIATIC NATIONS

KHILAFAT CONFERENCE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

(Free Press Special.)

MADRAS, Dec. 25.

Amidst shouts of Allao-Akbar, the All-India Khilafat Conference met this morning with Maulana Muhammad Shafi Daoodi in the chair. Dr. Ansari, Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar, Shaukat Ali, Muhammad Ali, Yakub Hussain, Jawaharlal Nehru and others attended the Conference.

After national songs, Syed Murthuza Sahib, M.L.A., welcoming the delegates and members repudiated the false allegations that the Khilafat Committee was the cause of the Moplah Rebellion. He appealed to them all that it was imperative that they shou'd effectively boycott the Commissin.

PRESIDENT'S STIRRING APPEAL

The following is a summary of the Presidential address delivered in Urdu by Maulvi Shafi Daoodi before the All-India Khilafat Conference at Madras:—

After thanking the organisers of the Conference for the honour they had done him and expressing his sorrow at the sad death of Zaghlul Pasha, Maulvi Barkatullah Bhopali and Maulona Mohamed Ali Monghiri, Maulvi Shafi discussed at length the need of preserving and strengthening the Khilafat organisation.

REPLY TO CRITICS.

Replying to the critics of the organisation he said that it was due to the slave mentality of the people. As a matter of fact it was one of the noblest achievements of this organisation that people had discarded the fear of the Government and had become used to give full expression to their views even after knowing that it would not please the Government but very probably would invite its displeasure.

Referring to the charge of misappropriation of public funds by the Khilafat Committee he said that the charge was very old and there was no need of further reply to it, because a reply has already been given and its has been made clear that the Committee did all that it possibly could in the matter. Another charge against the organisation was that it paid more attention to Muslims outside India than it did to those in India. This was also a wrong view taken by the critics. As Muslims they cannot differentiate between those residing in one country and those in another. They were all bretheren in faith and it was enjoined upon then by their religion that they should put all of them on an equal footing. There was also another charge levelled against the Khilafat Committee. It was said by some that it was a communal organisation and as such it provoked bitterness among Hindus and Muslims. The charge was so absurd that it was not even worth mentioning. But he thought it better to enumerate, though in brief, the noble services rendered by the Committee to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity, as it would by itself be enough to prove the absurdity of the above charge.

SERVICES OF THE KHILAFAT COMMITTEE.

Besides having achieved one of its objects viz. oering help to the Turks in winning back their lost territories and revising the treaty of Versailles the Khilafat Committee had done much work by way of creating political awakening among the Muslims in India. It was an accepted fact now that, as a community, Indian Muslims were taking more active part in Indian affairs than they did before. As regards the Hindu-Muslim problem the Khilafat Committee had scrupulously adhered to its principle of achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. It had kept itself aloof from all sorts of communal feuds and has tried for reconciliation wherever it was possible for it to do so. At the Lucknow Khilafat Conference held on 27 February 1927 a Committee was appointed to invite other Muslim and non-Muslim organisations in the country to co-operate with the Khilafat Committee with a view to put an end to communal dissensions. The work that this committee did was in no way insignificant. It was due to the efforts of this committee that on March 20 at Delhi that the now famous Delhi proposals were evolved.

Another effort by the Committee was the invitation to the leaders of the Hindu Sabha to meet in a Conference at Simla. Though the Simla Conference did not succeed in its object, still it helped to a great extent in coming at a decision about the cow and music questions and finally they succeeded in framing the Calcutta resolutions which had found great support in both the communities. He did not mean by this that the services rendered to the cause of unity by other organisations were in any way less important. His only object was to prove thereby that the attitude of the Khilafat Committee in respect of communal differences was the one that proved useful for the nationalist movements.

THE SIMON COMMISSION.

One of the most important political questions in the country to-day was the appointment of the Simon Commission. He had no doubt that the Khilafat Committee should accept in this respect the policy supported by the majority of Indian leaders. He had heard some of his co-religionists saying that unless and until the differences among Hindus and Muslims were settled amicably and an agreement had been reached, the Muslims as a community should not support the boycott movement. He could only say the suggestion at this stage is simply out of place. "India is the native land of both Hindus and Muslims. The responsibility to preserve India's honour and dignity rests equally on both the communities." If the Muslims had any doubt about it they should refer to two incidents in the life of their Prophet. After his long suffering and sacrifices in Mecca for full 13 years when he had to leave the city he addressed it in the following words "O Mecca! by God yours is the land I love most. Had not my people driven me out I would have never left it." When he went to Medina he prayed for its prosperity. Having these examples before him how could a single Muslim show disrespect towards his native country. It was true that in India the Muslims were in a minority. But India's fate depended upon the common efforts of both the communities.

"It is true that we Muslims as our community, when we have to decide on out attitude towards the Commission, should not decide it by considering what the other community would do. Still we have to remember that neither the Hindus can succeed in attaining freedom for India without our help, nor can we do so without their co-operation. It will be a great error to think that the Goverenent can make any alterations in the present form of Government without the common consent of Hindus and Muslims. The truth is that in spite of its policy of 'divide rule' if the Government can be made to accept any of our demands it is only through our united efforts."

"However in our opinion no government has a right to appoint a Commissin for enquiry and then to decide our destinues. The Commission is a rediculous thing.

By the very principles we have been following uptil now we are pledged to the boycott of the Commission. It is our firm belief that it is the right of Indians to decide about their future. Meddling in our affairs by outsiders will not only be ineffective, but it may prove dangerous to our interests. Our objection is to the present form of Government which, inspite of its repeated promises, denies us freedom. We believe that Swaraj cannot be achieved by begging and asking for favours, and it requires concerted efforts and sacrifices on our part. Hence we also believe that we should lose no opportunity to fight the Government. The boycott of the Commission gives us such an opportunity and really speaking this would be the only proper reply we can give to the attitude of the Government.

"Fortunately the Indian National Congress has accepted the same principle and it would now be better on our part to leave the question in the hands of this National Organisation for the final settlement and concentrate our attention on the boycott movement so that we may receive the Simon Commission in the same way as Egypt received the Milner Commission."

LEAGUE OF ASIATIC NATIONS.

After referring to the present awakening in Islamic countries like Turkey and Egypt and to the recent visit of His Majesty King Amanullah Khan, Maulana Shafi welcomed the suggestion of a League of Asiatic nations. He was extremely gratified to see that the suggestion came from King Amanullah and wished it every success. He wished that it should be possible for the backward nations of Asia to improve their political and economic conditions with the help of such a League. But it should not be a burden upon the poor and one more chain of slavery round their neck as some of the socalled Leagues in western countries were.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME.

Maulvi Shafi had no new constructive programme for the community. He discussed at some length the proposals already before the community.

The great need of the Muslims was a widespread educational movement. Special efforts were required to be made for mass education and that too for grown up men. In this respect they should work out the programme laid down by their Cawnpore Khilafat Conference of 1925. Maulvi Shafi also suggested the formation of a Central Educational Board to look after this work. As there was no difference of opinion in this respect he suggested that members from other Muslim organisations should also be included in this board.

Last but not least was the growing poverty in the country. Maulvi Shafi referred to the fact that inspite of their being disappointed so often the young men in the community still held high hopes about Government services. It was true that Government service was probably the easiest thing in the world to do. But no nation could live on Government service. He asked his audience to send in their young men for different industries and to turn to agriculture.

"The working out of the programme requires a very strong and active organisation in the country. There can be no better organisation in the present conditions than the Khilafat. It should therefore be their principal work during the next year first to strengthen this organisation and then to carry out the programme."

COMPLETE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

(Continued from Page 5)

ver Punditji went in Europe and America, he had very great difficulty in making them realise what Dominion status was. Concluding Punditji appealed for the unanimous support to the resolution. The resolution as amended by Mr. Satyamurty was adopted by the house, which at the suggestion of Maulana Mahomedali stood and pledged itself to action, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. The House gave itself up to loud acclamation, where even Pundit Malaviyaji indicated his support to the amended resolution. The text of the resolution finally adopted runs "this Congress declares the goal of Indian people to be complete national independance." The House adjourned for tea.

SWARAJ CONSTITUTION.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

MADRAS (Congress Camp), Dec. 24.

The following is the draft of the resolution on the question of framing a Swaraj Constitution. The resolution will be placed before the Subjects Committee which will meet again to-day at 3.

Having regard to the general desire of all political parties in the country to unite together in settling the Swaraj Constitution and having considered the various drafts submitted to it and various suggestions received in reply to the Working Committee's circular, this Congress authorises the Working Committee, which will have power to co-opt, to confer with similar committees to be appointed by other organisations,—political, labour, commercial and communal,—in the country and to draft a Swaraj Constitution for India on the basis of the declaration of rights and to place the same for consideration and approval before a special convention to be convened in Delhi, not later than March consisting of the All-India Congress Committee and the leaders and representatives of other organisations above named and the elected members of the Legislature.—Free Press.

FULL INDEPENDENCE GOAL OF INDIA

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY WORKING COMMITTEE

(Free Press Special)

MADRAS, Dec. 25.

The following is the text of the resolutions passed in the Working Committee and submitted for discussion in the Subjects Committee to-day.

RESOLUTION ON INDEPENDENCE

This Congress declares the goal of Indian people to be independence with full control over defence forces of the country, financial and economic policy and relations with foreign countries. This Congress demands that this right of the people of India should be forthwith recognised and given effect to in particular by the complete withdrawal of alien army of occupation. The resolution will be moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

RESOLUTION ON BENGAL DETENUES

This Congress strongly condemns the policy of the Indian Goverment and the Bengal Government, of imprisoning, interning and externing innocent citizens and Congress workers without trial for indefinite periods under Regulation 3 of 1818 and Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 and sends fraternal greetings to all those who have suffered and are suffering for the cause of their motherland owing to the above repressive policy of the Government.

(A) This Congress demands the immediate release of all Detenues who have been put under restraint without trial and of all political prisoners who have been convicted by special tribunals constituted under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925.

(B) This Congress also condemns strngly the arrest and imprisonment of Sirdar Santha Singh under the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation 3 of 1818.

The resolution is to be moved by Sjt. J. M. Sengupta.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

FULL TEXT OF RESOLUTION

MADRAS (Congress Camp), Dec. 24.

The following is the text of the resolution of the Working Committee on Hindu-Muslim Unity:—

"This Congress resolves that any future scheme of constitution so far as representation in the various Legislatures, be constituted;

That with a view to give full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures for the present and if desired such representation of communities should be secured by reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every provincial and the Central Legislatures:

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of the minorities, including Sikhs in the Punjab, may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they will be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces, and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces;

That the proposal made by the leaders that reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province is in the opinion of the Committee a fair and reasonable one and should be given effect to, care being taken that simultaneously with other measures of administrative reforms and adequate system, as judicial administration, shall be introduced in set provinces.

That with regard to the proposal that Sind should be constituted into a separate province, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis —a principle that has been adopted by the constitution of the Congress.

This Congress is also of the opinion that such readjustment of provinces be immediately taken into hand and that any province which demands such reconstitution on a linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly. This Congress is further of the opinion that a beginning be made constituting Andhra, Sind and Karnatic into separate provinces.

That in the future constitution Liberty of Conscience shall be guaranteed and no Legislature, Central or Provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with the Liberty of Conscience.

'Liberty of Conscience' means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observance and association, and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with the similar rights of others.

That no Bill, resolution, motion or amendments regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any Legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that Legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bills, resolution, motion or amendments.

"'Inter-communal matters' means, matters agreed upon as such by a Joint Standing Committee of both the communities of Hindu and Muslim members of the Legislature concerned appointed at the commencement of every session of the Legislature."

STATUTORY COMMISSION BOYCOTT

WORKING COMMITTEE'S DRAFT RESOLUTION

MADRAS (Congress Camp), Dec. 24.

The following is the draft resolution passed by the Working Committee on the boycott of the Statutory Commission:—

"Whereas the British Government have appointed the Statutory Commission in violation of Indians' right of self-determination, this Congress resolves that the only self-respecting course for India to adopt is to boycott the Commission at every stage, in every form: in particular:

(a) This Congress calls upon the people of India and all Congress organisations in the country (1) to organise mass demonstrations on the dap of the arrival of the Commission in India and similar monstrations in the various cities of India which the Commission may visit, (2) to organise public opinion by vigorous propaganda so as to pursuading all shades of political opinion effectively to boycott the Commission.

(b) This Congress calls upon non-official members of the Indian Legislatures and leaders of political parties and communities of India and all others not to give evidence before the Commission, nor to co-operate with it in any manner, public or private, nor attend social functions given to them.

(c) This Congress calls upon non-official members of Indian Legislatures neither to vote for nor serve on the Select Committee that may be set up in connection with this Commission; throw out any other proposal, or motion, or demand for grants in connection with the work of the Commission.

(d) This Congress also calls upon the Congress members of the Legislatures not to attend the meetings of the Legislatures while the Simon Commission is in India except for the purpose of preventing their seats being declared vacant, or for the purpose of throwing out a Ministry, or any of the purpose mentioned in clause (c).

(e) This Congress authorises the Working Committee to consult with and secure co-operation, wherever possible, of organisations and parties with a view to make the boycott effective and complete."—Free Press.

GET AWAY FROM COUNCILS

PT. MALAVIYA'S BOLD STAND

MADRAS (Congress Camp), Dec. 24.

Re-assembling after tea, the A.I.C.C. took up the discussion on the resolution concerning the boycott of the Simon Commission. Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, moving the resolution, explained the resolution clause by clause and concluded by hoping that there would be no dissentient voice when the resolution would come before the session. It was, he said, an eminently ethical and discreet resolution.

ENGLAND TO BLAME.

Dr. Besant seconded the resolution. She was glad that the resolution was put on the ground of Self-determination. On the questions of honour, each man was the judge of his actions. So with nations. They alone could determine how best to answer this insult. England began with it. India only carried it further. It was a case of responsive boycott. No general published his strategy beforehand. Similarly, it was for the Working Committee to devise ways to make the boycott effective. "If England persists," she concluded, "it was open to India to say, "go your own way. I determine conditions of my freedom."

Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar asked why the British Government alone was condemned and not the Indian Government.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar replied that the under the Statute, the English Government alone was vested with the power of appointing the Commission.

ALL MUST GET AWAY FROM COUNCILS.

Pandit Malaviya, who was cheered on rising, moved two amendments. One to delete reference to social functions and another to omit the words "while the Commission is in India." Panditji said it was a matter to be coolly considered. He was for the complete boycott; but it was not proper to bar social functions. As for vacating the Council, he said, "it must not be only for the period of the Commission's stay in India. They must all get away from the Council. The Ministers must not be there. No self-respecting Indian can remain as Minister." (Hear, hear). "We are going to stand no non-sense."

Mr' Srinivasa Iyengar: Does your party accept this?

Panditjia I am not here as a partyman. I stand for my country. If we have a sense of shame and self-respect, we would create such a situation that even Britain could not resist us."

Mr. Prakasam next moved a lengthy amendment. He moved, "that clauses (A) to (E) be omitted and his amendment be substituted."

Then came a series of amendments.

NEED OF A CRUSADING CRY.

Mr. Shyamsundara Chakravarty in a speech of moving eloquence, wanted that clause (D) should be so amended that there would be immediate resignation of the members of the Councils and Assembly and that they should all engage themselves in works of self-organization. He wanted that the country was in need of a crusading cry which would evoke a fervour and enthusiasm in the country. He did not understand the undue importance attached to the Simon Commission and the boycott of the same. "Was this insult a greater insult than that of Jalianwalla? There was a daily insult, and there should be a daily boycott." He urged in conclusion, for revival of the spirit of evolutionary revolution which they had four years ago.

Desabhakta Venktappaiah supported Shyam Babu, as he said that he thought the resolution was a halting one.

Mr. Harisarvothama Rao, in his amendment, wanted Councillors to practice discriminate obstruction and also suggested setting up of a parallel Commission.

Mr. Gidwani was for deleting clause (D) altogether, and substituting for clause (E) a fresh one appointing a directorate consisting of Dr. Ansari, Mr. Subhash Chander Dutt and Pandit Jawaharlal to organize and direct the boycott.—Free Press.

Mr. Aney moved an amendment suggesting that members should leave the House (Councils) when the Commission visited the House (Council).

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar asked if Mr. Aney was sure they would visit the Chamber.

Mr. Aney replied common-sense would suggest that course. (Many voices cried "No".)

Mr. Aney again replied that would effectively keep them away from it. (Laughter.) They were engaged, he continued, in finding a formula which would be agreeable to all parties. Only then our action would be most effective. He also wanted a parallel Commission.

Mr. Joglekar moved an amendment to include strikes and mass movements and country-wide hartals.

PARALLEL COMMISSION OPPOSED.

Mr. Sen Gupta asked how they could effectively boycott the Commission if they were not in the Councils to vote down the setting up of Committees. If they vacated the Councils they would be helping the Commission to function. They had to remain there if only to boycott the Simon Commission. He said the ban on social functions was necessary as they had baneful effects on weak-minded men. Ridiculing the suggestion of a parallel Commission he said "we repudiate a British Commission and we appoint another Commission to examine our fitness. How ridiculous, how absurd! We might have a conference to settle our disputes, but none to take evidence of our fitness for Swaraj.

MR. IYENGAR'S REPLY.

Mr Srinivasa Iyengar replying accepted Pandit Malaviya's amendments to omit the words "while the Commission is in India" and also to substitute for "the Congress calls upon Congressmen in the Council" the words "the Congress calls upon non-official members." He also accepted deletion of words "for any other purpose." He opposed the deletion of the clause banning social functions.

Before the amendments were put to vote Pandit Malaviya appealed to the House to consider that they had to carry as many of other parties as possible together to make their protest effective.

Mr. Nimbkar's amendment was put and lost. Mr. Harisarvothamarao's amendment was withdrawn. Mr. Gidwani's amendment asking for a final walk-out and appointment of a Directory were lost.

Mr. Aney's amendments were also lost. Shyam Babu's amendment was put and declared lost.

Poll was demanded and 36 voted for and 60 against.

Mr. Shyam Sunder stood up and said he reserved his right to bring it up in the open session.

Pandit Malaviya withdrew his amendment on social functions and amendment to omit the words "while the Commission is in India" was declared lost.

[redacted] was put and carried.

The House then adjourned to meet again at one to-morrow afternoon.

SEAPLANE "DAWN"

NO NEWS SINCE FRIDAY

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Anxiety is growing in America with regard to the fate of the amphibian seaplane "Dawn" which left Roosevelt field last evening for Harbour Grace with a view to making trans-Atlantic flight. Occupants of the plane are Mrs. Grayson, Oscar Omdal, pilot, Brice Goldsborough, Navigator, and Fred. Koehler, mechanic. There has been no news of the plane since it passed Cape Cod last night. The sea is rough and there is strong wind.—Reuter.

WARSAW COMMUNISTS ROUNDED UP

POLITICAL POLICE BUSY

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Warsaw.—The political police have rounded up Communists at various centres here, including Soviet ringleaders and emissaries, one of them being ex-Commissary Wadzicki. Several secret printing presses have been discovered. Tons of seditious literature have been confiscated and copies of correspondence with Moscow seized.—Reuter.

BHARATPUR ENQUIRY COMMISSION

AGRA MUSLIMS' PROTEST

AGRA, Dec. 25.

At a public meeting of the Muslim subjects of the Bharatpur State residing in Agra, a resolution was passed viewing with alarm the decision of the Government of India to appoint a Commission to enquire into the affairs of the Bharatpur State, as such a decision was not supported by the Treaty. It was also resolved that the suspension of the ruling powers of His Highness the Maharajah during the period of enquiry was still more shocking, particularly in view of the fact of the continued loyalty of His Highness to British Government and his manifold services during the late European War. It was urged, that if at all the appointment of a Commission were going to be a settled fact, a suitable number of representatives of the aristocracy of the State should find a place in that Commission.—Free Press.

DR. ANSARI'S CLARION CALL

UNITY IN COUNTRY, CONGRESS AND COUNCIL

(Continued from page 8.)

us and on the success of our efforts to achieve unity in the country depends the whole future of India.

If I have discussed at length the question of Hindu-Muslim differences it is because like the ubiquitous microbe it has infected every sphere of our national activity. I am conscious that the question of Hindu-Muslim relations is only a part of the broader problem of the rights of minorities and backward classes. The Sikhs in the North and the non-Brahmanas in the South and the so-called Depressed Classes all over India, equally deserve our close attention. I do not propose to deal at length with the Sikhs or the non-Brahmanas but I cannot resist the temptation of putting in a plea on behalf of the millions of "untouchables." The removal of untouchability, although a problem essentially for our Hindu brothers to solve, must still be a matter of the deepest concern to every Indian inasmuch as the presence of such a large section of our fellow-countrymen suffering under grievous social and political disabilities cannot but retard our efforts for the emancipation of our country.

UNITY IN THE CONGRESS.

Next in importance to the re-establishment of communal harmony is the question of the reorganisation of the Congress on a wider basis. The set-back we received in the Non-co-operation movement told heavily on the Congress. The keen enthusiasm of the palmy days of 1920 and 1921, when every city and every village had a Congress Committee of its own, began to cool down, and with the outbreak of communal dissensions, gave place to apathy and in cases, fortunately rare, to open hostility to the Congress. The communal question having been settled on the lines of the Bombay and Calcutta resolutions measures until we have found a substitute for the rule of majorities, the only democratic and workable principle is to respect the decision of the majority. This does not mean that the minority loses its right to continue its endeavours to convert itself into the majority. Differences in detail or method should not be made the occasion of secession from the parent organisation and the setting up of a separate party outside. Multiplicity of parties on minor differences is bad enough for countries already free and independent. We who are fighting for our elemental rights cannot afford to indulge in the luxury of a cramping and complicated system of parties. A great responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Indian 'intelligentsia' whose duuty it is to educate the masses to a realisation of their rights and privileges. The confusion caused by the existence of a number of parties leads to distraction and the great work of the uplift of the masses remains neglected. Let us concentrate on the largest common measure of agreement rather than emphasise points of disagreement. After all, the points on which we agree are many and those on which we disagree but few.

UNITY IN THE COUNCILS.

I do not believe in the Councils. At the same time I am aware that the Congress has permitted its members, if they so desire, to enter the Councils and a considerable number of my fellow-workers believe that they can render useful service to the country from inside them. To all these I humbly suggest that if they must go to the Councils the last that the country expects of them is that instead of allowing heir opponents to take advantage of the division in their ranks they will join forces with other nationalist groups to form a People's Party of Opposition and present a united front. As it is, on sentatives of India and Great Britain with plenipotentiary powers to decide the bases of the future constitution of India, to be incorporated into an Act of Parliament. It is only on these conditions that Indians can, consistently with national honour and dignity, agree to co-operate. Until Great Britain accepts these terms the Indian National Congress has no other alternative but to ask the people of India to treat the Statutory Commission as our Egyptian brothers treated the Milner Mission, and leave it severely alone. We can have no part or lot in a Commission which has been appointed in direct defiance of the declared will of the people of India.

NEED FOR A CONSTITUTION.

The advent of the Statutory Commission should not divert our attention from the work of framing a constitution for India. The need for it had been felt for a long time and at the Bombay meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the Working Committee was called upon to draw up, in consultation with leaders of political thought in the country, a suitable Constitution for India. A Constitution of this nature would remove suspense and doubt from the minds of the different communities regarding their position and status in the final political arrangement of the country. It would rally the different political parties round the Congress and prove of incalculable value in the education of the people in their political rights and privileges, telling them in exact language what they are called upon to fight for. Nor can we

> **"It is the most damning confession of moral bankruptcy when the Government have not got the courage to bring these young men (the detenus) before their own law courts to be tried by their own judges and in accordance with the laws promulgated by themselves."**
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> —From the President's address.

underrate its value in strengthening our hands generally in our struggle for the achievement of Swaraj.

To frame a constitution for a people consisting of 320 million souls, professing different religions and speaking different languages, will be the most unique and gigantic experiment in democacy ever attempted. The task of the framers will be further complicated by the presence of Indian States exercising sovereign rights in their territories. Whatever be the final form of the constitution, one thing may be said with some degree of certainty, that it will have to be on federal lines providing for a United States of India with existing Indian States as autonomous units of the Federation taking their proper share in the defence of the country, in the regulation of the nation's foreign affairs and other joint and common interests.

As soon as the Draft Constitution is ready the Congress should take steps to call a National Convention consisting of representatives of all interests, communities and political parties to consider it and give it a final shape.

THE DETENUS.

The greatest misfortune that can befall a people is to lose its independence. Patriotism, universally accepted as one of the highest form of virtue in a free people, is condemned as a vile crime in a subject race. There are very few in the ranks of our public workers who have not, at one time or another, paid the penalty of their patriotic sentiments by being consigned to prison as ordinary felons. It is not possible to give the exact number of the victims of lawlessness perpetrated in the name of peace and order, but taking into account only those sentenced in the Komagata Maru Case, the Martial Law prisoners in the Punjab where boys of 10 and 11 years were condemned to transportation for life for "waging war" against the King, those incarcerated during the days of Non-co-operation, the Sikhs imprisoned in connection with the Akali Movement and the large number of Moplahs punished and deported in 1922, the total swells to the staggering figures of 60,000. These 60,000, however, had the semblance of a trial in Ordinary Courts, Special Tribunals or the Martial Law Courts. The most tragic case is that of the hundreds of unfortunate young men who, for no other crime than the love they bore their country, have been condemned to a lingering death in the prime of their life, without even the mockery of a trial or the framing of a charge, under the provisions of that relic of legal antiquity, Regulation III of 1818, or threatened weapon of coercion and repression forged in 1924, the Bengal Ordinance, subsequently put on the Statute Book under the dignified appellation of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925. The story of the detenus of Bengal reads like a page from the history of the Middle Ages with this difference that while in Middle Ages the moral consciousness of the world was not so well developed and the standard of civilisation was not so high, the tragedy of Bengal is being enacted in the twentieth century when the sense of justice and moral standards of right and wrong are several centuries in advance of mediævalism and by people who claim to be the torch-bearers of civilisation. It is the most damning confession of moral bankruptcy when the Government have not got the courage to bring these young men before their own law courts to be tried by their own judges and in accordance with the laws promulgated by themselves. I warn the Government against the consequences of the bitter conclusions such cruel persecution is burning into the very soul of the nation. Other governments have tried repression to crush the spirit of freedom and for the result one has only to point to Russia and Ireland. Even the most credulous among us would find it difficult to have any faith in the genuineness of the professed intentions of the Government with regard to the future of India and the high-sounding principles enunciated in that connection when elementary rights of citizenship and liberty of person are so flagrantly violated every day. Restoration to liberty of these young men would be some indication of the advent of a better spirit in the regulation of the relations between India and Great Britain. Our efforts should not be confined merely to the release of these unhappy detenus but a repetition of a similar outrage on the inviolable rights of citizenship in the future should be made impossible by incorporating in the fundamental laws of the country a Declaration of Rights guaranteeing to every citizen liberty of person, liberty of speech, liberty of association and liberty of conscience.

Closely associated with the question of the detenus is the question of Indian nationalists compelled to live in exile in foreign lands. We may disagree with their methods of work in the past but the abnormal conditions, which impelled them to adopt that course of action, have disappeared and there is no longer any reason why they should be denied the right to return to the country of their birth and to serve it peacefully.

It is not detenus and exiles along who suffer. Ordinary citizens are being deprived of their freedom of movement and their right of ingress and egress is being tampered with through an ingenious administration of the regulations relating to the grant of passports. Passports have become one more weapon in the hands of the bureaucracy to be used against us. India has been turned into a vast internment camp and a number of Indians abroad have been successfully locked out. Respectable citizens have been prevented from leaving India even for purposes of health, business or travel. It will, perhaps, be difficult to find a more glaring example of the abuse of these regulations than in the cancellation of the passport of Mr. Shapurji Saklatvala, M.P. Considered worthy of the highest honour and position of trust in England by the suffrage of English citizens, he has been declared unfit to enter the land of his birth. These disabilities must go and the fetters of the prison removed altogether.

INDIA AND ASIA.

The task before us, as I have already pointed out, is to put India on her feet. It goes without saying that we must primarily and mainly depend on our own resources and organisation to solve our problem, but it will greatly facilitate our task if we cease to view our problems as purely local. We have long committed the blunder of looking at them in an exclusively Indian setting. It is time we studied them in their international aspect and took note of every factor in world politics which has a bearing on them. The chief defaulters in this respect have been our Hindu brethren. Perhaps their peculiar social system and the self-sufficiency of the country fostered an outlook of isolation. When the British appeared on the scene they were not slow to take advantage of this spirit of isolation and turn it into a segregation so full and complete as effectively to cut us off from the rest of the world. So thorough was the blockade that we were kept in utter ignorance of the condition even of our immediate neighbours. The only contact vouchsafed to us was through London and only to the extent that suited the convenience of Great Britain. We saw the world through British glasses.

The Musalman, no doubt, did, now and then, disturb the placid surface of Indian indifference to developments outside. But his interest in world politics being mainly religious, the current of national thought flowed on as before. Isolation and segregation are no longer possible. Science has annihilated distances and removed barriers. The world has come closer. Events in one part of the world have their immediate repercussion in the other. The inter-dependence of problems in the different countries of the world has changed the entire conception of national politics. We stand to lose considerably if, without diverting our attention from problems at home, we do not take a practical interest in happenings and developments outside. In the conflict between Europe and Asia, Asia has been worsted because Europe could take concerted action against her piecemeal and defeat her in detail. The only hope of success in our efforts to check the forces of European Imperialism and Capitalism lies in Eastern nations coming closer and taking a more intimate interest in the problems facing them. Fortunately we are so placed that a part of our population has cultural affinity with countries in the West of Asia while another has similar relationship with the countries lying in the East of the Continent. Our economic problems are also more or less similar. Common culture and common interest should therefore facilitate the consummation of the scheme of an Asiatic federation adumbrated by that great patriot Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, whom nature had endowed with an imagination to which geographical barriers were no obstacles and a vision which encompassed all the races inhabiting Asia.

A happy beginning was made by the Congress in this direction by participating officially in the 'Congress Against Imperialism' held at Brussels, and by becoming associated with the 'League Against Imperialism.' A more important and practical step taken by the Congress was the proposal of sending a mission to give medical relief and assistance to the people of China in their present struggle. The mission could not go as the Government of India refused to grant passports. The fact that the Government had to shift their ground twice in search of an excuse for the refusal clearly shows that the underlying motive of their decision was other than what was officially expressed. The plea that it would be a departure from an attitude of strict impartiality to allow a medical mission to go to the assistance of one or the other of the belligerents is certainly novel. It would, perhaps, have been nearer the truth had it been stated that it would be a departure from an attitude of strict partiality. As a matter of fact it is neutrals alone who can send medical aid to belligerents without let or hindrance. Indeed this principle is the 'raison d'etre' of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent

> **"The history of this "philanthropic burglary" on the part of Europe is written in blood from Congo to Canton."**
>
> —From the President's address.

Societies which have rendered help and assistance in the past. When advancing the plea the Government forgot that fifteen years ago they themselves had given passports to a similar mission sent to Turkey while Great Britain was neutral. It is futile to lodge protests, but such setbacks should not deter us from persevering in our efforts.

NATIONAL HEALTH.

I have taxed your patience by dwelling at such length on the problems of communal harmony and the unity of political parties for they are of the utmost importance for our national well-being at the present moment. There is, however, another subject which deserves the most serious attention of all those who have the love of India at heart. It might be urged that the problem of National Health, strictly speaking, does not fall within the purview of a political organisation and it is probably for this reason that it has, so far, not received that attention at the hands of the Indian National Congress which it deserves. It has such an important bearing on some of the most vital questions connected with the future of our people as a self-governing nation that I think it is high time the Congress realised its importance in our national economy and directed its attention towards it.

It does not require any great powers of observation to notice that there is a general deterioration in our health which has become specially noticeable during the last fifty years. Without going into any elaborate details a mere comparison between the physique of a young man of the present generation and that of the young men of the past two generations will clearly establish the fact that there has been a steady decline. The men of the past two generations, perhaps less brainy, were comparatively more active, possessed greater powers of endurance, were more courageous and less susceptible to disease. The contrast becomes more marked when we compare our level of general health with that of any other country in the West. If we examine the causes of this deficiency they would resolve themselves into climatic, social, economic, educational and hygienic.

In a tropical climate, where the heat during the greater part of the year is intense, there is greater general relaxation and quicker exhaustion of the system, hence, for the same number of hours of work a man is more fatigued in the tropics than in temperate and colder regions and yet the working day is longer in India than in the West. There being not enough rest or recreation the Indian worker has not much chance of recoupment while the drain on the system is kept up from day to day. This has a disastrous effect on the period of average life and on the standard of efficiency.

The evils of our peculiar social system are so well-known that it is not necessary for me to dilate upon them. Every worker in the social cause knows the havoc played by seclusion and segregation of our female population, early marriages and rules confining the choice of marriage to a limited circle. The rigidity of the social rules affecting our domestic life is so cramping that it dwarfs the physical and mental growth of the family and has a particularly harmful influence on children. Nature is relentless in its revenge. If we defy the accepted laws of eugenics our common stock is bound to suffer.

The general economic condition of the workers in the fields and factories, who between themselves constitute more than three-fourths of the total population of the country, is such that it is with difficulty that they can keep body and soul together. They are over-worked and under-paid, ill-fed, illclothed and badly housed. Their power of resistance to disease is so low that they fall easy victims to the ravages of epidemics. Cholera, plague, influenza, small-pox and malaria claim their heavy toll of millions year after year.

The growing evil of drink threatens further to undermine not only the public health of the country but our entire social structure. Forbidden by his religion to the Mussalman and held pernicious by the Hindu, the evil of drink would not have spread so rapidly and extensively had the Government taken a sympathetic attitude towards those who were endeavouring to stop it. On the contrary, obstacles were placed in the way of national workers who wished to eradicate the evil and hundreds of young men who peacefully picketed liquor shops were sent to jail to pay the penality of their reforming zeal. The arm of the law was used to "protect" the liberty of the citizen to intoxicate others and to get intoxicated himself, in order to compensate him for the denial of liberty in the political sphere. Well might India complain "some are born drunkards, others contract the habit and some have drunkenness thrust upon them." The health of the nation may suffer, crime may increase, efficiency of the peasant and the labourer may decrease, their children may starve but Prohibition cannot be introduced as the deficiency in the budget must be balanced. Is it too much to expect the Government to meet the wishes of the people at least in this matter by finding other means to satisfy the requirements of a balanced budget?

The conditions obtaining among the middle and the lower middle classes cause no less anxiety. With limited incomes and forced to maintain a higher standard of life in cities, where living is comparatively dearer, they suffer great hardship indeed. Their hand-to-mouth existence and consequent malnutrition together with residence in congested, unhealthy areas make them particularly susceptible to tuberculosis. The appalling figures of infant mortality and deaths during child birth, both in rural and urban areas, are matters of great concern and deserve our immediate attention.

These evils are aggravated by a lack of proper provision for health and hygiene. There is much room for improvement in our general stanard of cleanliness both in relation to the person and the household. Houses should be built with better provisions for ventilation and light and with satisfactory sanitary arrangements. Villages and towns should be planned with due regard to water supply, sanitation and conservancy arrangements. Stricter supervision of foodstuffs and better control of markets in every town and village, however small, is another crying need of the country. Medical relief should be organised on a wider scale. By these methods alone can we bring under control all preventable diseases and eradicate them finally.

The question of public health and hygiene is intimately correlated with that of mass education. Unless the mass-mind is prepared by a process of suitable education it can neither appreciate nor carry out the most elementary and essential reforms affecting the health and happiness of the masses. Our Municipalities and Local Boards, inspite of the many restrictions placed on their powers, can still do a great deal to arrest the decline in physique of the people and raise the general level of the health of the nation.

I have so far discussed the question of national health in its relation to our disabilities but making every allowance for them I cannot but deeply regret the general apathy and neglect shown towards the all-important question of physical culture. Even well-to-do people, who have both leisure and means, do not take much interest in it. This apathy was perhaps an inevitable result of the complete disarming of the nation and depriving the youth of the country of opportunities of developing its talents for military leadership. People were forced to rely on others for the defence of their homes and hearth. A spirit of dependence settled down on the nation. Old 'akharas' and gymnasia disappeared and with them the spirit of self-reliance, the very essence of national self-respect. Government shows a nervousness, difficult to appreciate, whenever the question is mooted that this enervating general disarming of the people be put an end to and Indians given a chance to prepare themselves for the defence of their country. The fear that carrying of arms is likely to disturb the general peace and transquility, is entirely baseless. There have been fewer breaches of the peace in Indian States where there is no Arms Act, than in British India where even sticks beyond regulation size may not be carried. Establishment of gymnasia and centres of physical culture, is not the entire question of national health but on Finance. Private [illegible] however well-organised, cannot meet the needs of the situation. It is only by devoting a substantial portion of public revenues that such reforms of a real nation-building character can be taken in hand. Sixty per cent. of the revenue of India is absorbed by the Military Department in the name of the Defence of the

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PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTIONS

The President strongly advises the Congress and the country to have nothing to do with the Statutory Commission and reiterates the demand of the Congress for a Round Table Conference of Indian and British representatives "with plenipotentiary powers." He recommends at the same time the speedy preparation of [illegible] of India and the calling of a National Convention for its [illegible] the Constitution should be of a Federal type, "with autonomous units of the Federation."

[illegible] his countrymen not to relax their efforts until they [illegible] detenus of Bengal and "made a repetition of a [illegible]ry rights of citizenship impossible". He also draw[illegible] to the alarming condition of our national health and physique [illegible]s that effective measures be devised to check the causes of the steady pa[illegible]oration.

These suggestions, the President says in conclusion, "are the lines on which we can weld India into a nation with an irresistible will and determination to conquer all obstacles in the way of the realisation of its great Ideal and occupy its proper place among the nations of the World."

must be adopted to make the Congress franchise popular and to induce all communities to join the Congsress in large numbers. I am glad our non-Brahmana friends have decided to come back to us and it gives me great pleasure to see them so well represented here to-day. It is, however, a matter of deep regret that the number of Muslims and Sikhs has dwindled considerably. The case of the Parsis who took such a leading part in the early life of the Congress, is worse still. I wish particularly to address the Indian Christians who have so far kept themselves aloof as a body from the Congress. I should like to tell them that if they are under the impression that they can serve the interests of their community by remaining outside the Congress they should take a lesson from the experience of my co-religionists. The Mussalmans of India allied themselves with forces other than national for a number of years and after bitter experience found out that they could advance their interests only by joining the Indian National Congress and making common cause with the rest of their countrymen. The Indian Christians will serve their community better by giving up their policy of isolation and adopting an Indian national outlook. I should like to see every section of our people entering into a healthy rivalry to contribute its share to the conduct of national affairs through the Congress. The doors of the Congress should be thrown wide open to all parties and we should stop at nothing short of a surrender of basic principles to bring back every party to the Congress. Differences of opinion are bound to exist but the best and the only place to fight them out is and should be the common platform of the mother of all political organisations in India, the Indian National Congress. Each party has an unrestricted right and opportunity to convince the Congress of the correctness of its point-of-view and to enlist the support of the majority for the policy it advocates. If the majority, rightly or wrongly, fails to appreciate the correctness of that policy, a majority of problems the various nationalist groups have been invariably found in the same lobby. The instructions issued by the Congress for work inside the Councils can form a good basis for unity of action. Should any alterations in these instructions be found necessary to facilitate joint action it is always open to any group to come to the Congress and press its viewpoint. And whatever decision the Congress gives should be loyally obeyed at all.

THE STATUTORY COMMISSION.

"In the good old days" we looked forward with eagerness to the conferring of "boons" by our rulers. Well, Providence in its "merciful dispensation" has conferred upon us a real boon in the shape of the Statutory Commission. The manner in which the declared wishes and sentiments of the Indian people have been contemptuously disregarded should serve as an eye-opener even to the most confirmed optimist among us. It is the strongest and the most convincing plea for the sinking of our differences and closing up of our ranks. Much has been said and written on the Commission but little, as it seems to me, which touches the heart of the matter. Keen disappointment and surprise have been expressed at the exclusion of Indians from its personnel. I must confess I do not share any of these feelings. I am neither disappointed nor surprised. This was exactly what I had anticipated. It is not a question of the appointment of a Hindu peer or a Muslim knight, nor is it a question whether Indians should participate in its work as members, assessors or advisers. The principle involved is totally different. It is basic and fundamental. No sane or self-respecting Indian can ever admit the claim of Great Britain to be the sole judge of the measure and time of India's political advance. We alone know our needs and requirements best and ours must be the decisive voice in the determination of our future. It is our inherent and inalienable right. Taking its stand on these principles the Congress has all along advocated the convening of a Round Table Conference of the repre-

DR. ANSARI'S CLARION CALL

UNITY IN COUNTRY' CONGRESS AND COUNCIL

(Continued from previous page.)

country but the Government ought to know that there can be no defence of the country when people are allowed to exist in such a state of utter physical degeneration. The defence of the country does not lie in building costly block-houses and erecting fortifications, nor even in procuring expensive armament or the mechanisation of the Army. Money can make munitions but men alone can man them. The real defence of the country lies in tackling the problem of Manhood and improving the general health of the nation.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I wish to urge that the country should lose no time in preparing itself for the next move forward. I urge that all our energies and resources be concentrated on fighting the enemy residing inside our body politic, namely, communal and political discord. I beseech Hindus and Mussalmans to accept the settlement of the Congress, which is just and fair to both, and to sink their differences. I press for an immediate and countrywide reorganisation of the Congress and cordially invite all communities and political parties to join the national organisation in a body in order to strengthen it and make it truly representative and national. I appeal to all those who still desire to go to the Councils to close their ranks and form one People's Party of Opposition on the basis of the Congress Programme. I strongly advise the Congress and the country to stand aside and have nothing whatever to do with the Statutory Commission. I reiterate the demand of the Congress for a Round Table Conference of Indian and British representatives with plenipotentiary powers as the only method in which we could co-operate with Great Britain regarding the settlement of the future of India. I recommend the speedy preparation of the future Constitution of India and the calling of a National Convention for its adoption. I suggest to my people that we should consider Indian problems in their international setting and cultivate cultural relations and maintain friendly contact with Asiatic countries. I call upon my countrymen not to relax their efforts until they have secured the release of the detenus of Bengal and made repetition of a similar outrage on the elementary rights of citizenship impossible. I draw the attention of the country to the alarming condition of our National Health and earnestly appeal that effective measures be devised to check the causes which are leading to its steady deterioration. These, in my opinion, are the lines on which we can weld India into a nation with an irresistible will and determination to conquer all obstacles in the way of the realisation of its great Ideal and occupy its proper place among the Nations of the World.

SINN FEIN TACTICS.

MR. MUDALIAR'S SPEECH.

The following is the full text of the speech of Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 42nd Session of the Congress:

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Reception Committee, I extend to you a most cordial and warm welcome to this 42nd session of the Indian National Congress. We are meeting to-day under exceptional circumstances. We have reached a definite stage in the fight for Swaraj, and the main work before this Congress is to give a new direction to our activities in order to hasten the achievement of our ideal. I invite you to approach the problems before us with patriotic earnestness and courage, and to formulate a national programme which will not only command widespread acceptance but will take us onward in the march towards Swaraj.

For some years past, the absence of a vitalising programme has disrupted and weakened the political activities of Indian Nationalists. The reaction, as non-co-operation was slowly retracted, menaced our effective public life with almost certain extinction. But, thanks to the intervention of a divine Providence, we have to-day an energising war-cry which has reached, and is reaching ears hitherto closed to the call of nationalism. That war-cry is the Boycott of the Statutory Commission. With rare unanimity and with yet rarer enthusiasm, the whole Indian nation has with one voice determined to boycott the Statutory Commission on Indian Reforms. The British people must realise that all this feeling has not been generated in India merely by the insinuating propaganda of ultra-radical politicians. The great Moderate party, up-to-now a severely conservative influence in our politics, has on this matter, made common cause with the Congress.

BOYCOTT IT.

On this occasion, I desire to draw your attention to a few of the more important reasons why we have thus almost unanimously decided to boycott the Commission. Firstly, under the principles evolved and the pledges given during the great war, we are entitled to decide what the form and extent of our self-government should be. In spite of the most solemn declarations and pledges given by the foremost British statesmen, India was insulted by the inclusion, in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, of terms which denied her right to self-determination. This was a gross betrayal and treachery which the united voice of India has been relentlessly condemning. To acquiesce in the re-assertion of that pernicious doctrine, now implied in the appointment of an All-British Commission, would be to abandon our self-respect. Secondly, the circumstances of the appointment of the Commission constitute a contemptuous rejection of the National Demand, passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1924 and reiterated in 192g. No reason has been vouchsafed to us why the Assembly demand has been dealt with in this perfunctory manner. It is an insult to the elected representatives of our people, and consequently to the entire Indian Nation. Thirdly, even the moderate demand made by the Liberals for the inclusion of a substantial proportion of Indians in the Commission has been ignored. I desire it to be distinctly understood that we, the Congressmen, will not be satisfied with anything less than a Constituent Convention for the determination of our future constitution, in which, representatives of Britain may also be permitted to deliberate, but only as equals, to safeguard any vested interests they may have in this country. The inclusion, in the Commission, of Indians chosen at random will not conciliate the Congress which stands for the principle of self-determination, logically worked out. Fourthly, the Commission should be ruthlessly boycotted, because it implies the application to India of doctrines which are contrary to the usages governing the relations between England and the Dominions. Shall we permit ourselves to be dealt with as inferiors in the Commonwealth of Nations forming the British Empire? An emphatic negative must be our unequivocal answer. Canada, Australia and South Africa were allowed the right of self-determination; and with the important exception, the Parliament no more tinkered with their drafts than merely dot the i's and cross the t's. Why should India alone be forced to a different course of constitutional development? It implies inferiority, and we must resist every such implication. And further, I desire to assert, on this occasion, that it is essential to the dignity and national self-respect of India, not to permit any extraneous authorities and influences, however potent, to dictate to her, what her government should be. To acquiesce in the unwarranted and dangerous presumption of the British Parliament would be a surrender of our self-respect, and would harm and demoralise our public life, not to mention the degradation in which it would involve us among the civilised nations of the world. Further, it is amply clear, that our non-participation in this Commission will not anywise jeopardise our political progress. The haughty Conservatives of the British Parliament, whose ranks are re-inforced by the no less jingoist section of labourites under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, whose political masquerade as friends of India is at an end, have already prejudiged our case, and there is nothing to be lost by our stern refusal to regularise their judgment by helping in the so-called inquiry. I have, therefore, no hesitation in adding my humble voice to the chorus of approval which has met the Boycott programme.

BRITISH LEGACY.

I desire, at this stage, to make one or two observations on the misgivings felt by honest friends of India as to our attitude towards certain domestic questions, peculiarly the legacy of British Rule in India. I assure the minorities and the special interests who have been persistently misled by interested persons, that in a free and a democratic India, their interests would be safer than now. India has, through history, been the asylum of the oppressed and the persecuted; and it is part of our national character to treat minorities hospitably and even charitably. Protection to minorities will be the first canon of political conduct in Swaraj India. Nextly, we must repudiate the suggestion that Britain should ever be the peace-maker in India, holding its diverse interests and peoples in justice to each other, but in subjection to herself. We must proclaim our right and our capacity to settle equitably and honourably, all these delicate questions. Thus there is no argument for co-operation with the Statutory Commission except the argument of fear, of toadyism and of atrophied political sense.

The boycott of the Commission is a negative programme which has brought together most of the parties in the country. Advantage must be taken of this beneficent atmosphere for settling positive and policies which will be acceptable to the generality of our countrymen. To start with, the need is imperative to educate public opinion on an agreed draft of Swaraj Constitution, embodying the aspirations and the hopes of the Indian nation. Such a programme will clarify the issues before the country and will enable all the parties to concentrate their energies in devising effective sanctions, with which we can enforce our demand for Swaraj, and to organise our forces and carry on such a propaganda that the urge for Swaraj would be felt in the heart of every Indian so powerfully, that the response of a united and concentrated effort would finally win us our freedom.

SWARAJ SCHEME.

Fellow Delegates, I shall now refer to a few features which, I think, should characterise any scheme of Swaraj for India. Firstly, we ought to make it known that if Parliament continues in its present insolent mood, we must definitely start on an intensive propaganda for the severance of India from the Empire. Whenever the time may come for the effective assertion of Indian Nationalism, Indian aspiration will then be towards free nationhood, untrammelled even by the nominal suzerainty of the King of England. It echoes English statesmanship to take careful note of this fact. Let them not drive us to despair. As yet, the substantial opinion in the country favours the ideal freedom with in the Empire. But this persistent stepmotherly treatment will only compel us to decide against any further participation in a caste-ridden Empire, Parliament should recognise, and at once, that in India as well as in Ireland, all authority should be derived from the people and not from Whitehall. In the absence of any assurance in this behalf, we must abandon any further thought of framing our constitution as a constituent partner of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

Nextly, I desire to emphasise the paramount need of an exhaustive Declaration of Rights which will form part of our constitution. There should be unmistakeable guarantees of the Rights of Citizens to equal and just treatment and to freedom from oppression by the limbs of the law. There ought to be the fullest political equality of all classes and without disintinction of religion or race. The Indian democracy should afford equal opportunities to all citizens for self-development and self-expression. Respect for individual acts and opinions, not detrimental to public order or morality, ought to be asserted and guaranteed in the fundamental law. Educational facilities, free and compulsory at least till the elementary standard, and free, up to the secondar, ought to be provided by appropriate clauses in the constitution. Further, it is essential to the character of religious neutrality of the Indian government that there should be no state religion in this country. In this connection, I desire to allude to the views expressed by a prominent Indian statesman that there is no need for a Declaration of Rights in India as we are imbued with British traditions of justice which contain guarantees in ordinary law, of the Rights of citizens. The Rule of Law may be a fact in England but in India it is unknown; Ireland, where too the British have created traditions of justice and the Rule of Law, has most judiciously incorporated such Declaration in her Constitution. I therefore respectfully differ, and maintain that we should rather follow the precedent of Iraland, who suffered equally with us under British Rule.

Nextly, it is my humble opinion that the Government we should organise for India under Swaraj should be on the unitary basis. Federal Government, however suitable to the conditions of other countries, will be peculiarly inappropriate to India with its revived sense of solidarity. It will also disrupt the synthesising forces of nationalism and present the sad picture of a divided India. If there is a local sentiment and local aspiration, we can well provide for them by a careful process of decentralisation. Administrative units organised on a linguistic basis, with adequate provisons for the needs of localities, will amply answer the requirements of local patriotism. At the same time, a strong central Government will keep nationalism intact and elevate India among the nations of the world.

QUESTION OF FRANCHISE.

I would, then, invite your attention to the all-important question of franchise. We have to devise principles of representation which would accord well with the needs of democracy. May I, in this connection, draw your attention to the conclusions of the All-India Congress Committee in its recent meeting at Calcutta? These conclusions dispose of the long-standing intricate problem of communal representation to your acceptance. Further, although the exclusive representation of any special interests would not be in strict consonance with the democratic theory, considering the peculiar conditions in India, I would advocate that the Depressed classes alone may be given special representation, if only for a time. I do not sympathise with similar demands made on behalf of Anglo-Indians and corporations like the Universities and the Chambers of Commerce. Their interests, if they have any, apart from those of the people, will I conceive be sufficiently safeguarded by an assembly composed of members chosen in general constituencies.

I would also respectfully offer a suggestion as to the method we should adopt to arrive at agreement regarding any such constitution. The Indian National Congress should take early steps to convene a convention of representatives of all parties and interests which should decide on a constitution for India. Any scheme agreed to by such a convention, if ratified by a special session of the Congress, would be the demand of united India. To enforce the demand for this constitution, we have to devise adequate sanctions.

UNITE ALL PARTIES.

The first step we have to take is to unite all the parties with a view to offering struggle for Swaraj. A campaign of communal co-operation and harmony must be started methodically and pursued with vigour by the Congress. Our opponents make political capital of the absence of amity among the leading communities and of the state of the Depressed Classes. We must remove the cause, more in our own interests than in answer to the English indictment. The efforts made and the results arrived at so far, have been very encouraging. The Bombay and the Calcutta decisions of the All-India Congress Committee inspired by the great and self-less leader, Mr. S. Srinivasa Aryengar, are already finding sympathetic acceptance all over the country. This ameliorative work ought to be pushed on. Similarly, well-considered attempts should be made to settle the unfortunate Brahmin and Non-Brahmin misunderstandings, the Buddhist agitation in Gaya and the sectional differences among the Sikhs. I have hopes that these problems, which stand in the way of national work will soon be solved in a statesmanly spirit and in view of the larger interests at stake. The just and equitable settlement of these questions will enhance the prestige of the Congress and by common consent, the Congress will attain to the position of a respected arbiter of inter-communal misunderstandings.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK.

Nextly, there is the most urgent need for the propagation of higher economic ideals in the country. The workers of the Congress should carry to the ryots not only a political but also an economic message. The cultivator should be familiarised with the modern methods of agriculture and with the immense usefulness of the Co-operative movement. Vast tracts of land may be cultivated, and the wealth of the country enormously increased, if only our ryots will understand and use the modern scientific methods of agriculture. Again principles of sanitation ought to be a prominent subject of propaganda of every Congress worker. In particular, we must make strenuous endeavours to minimise the Drink evil, as its total extinction without state-aid is impossible. Educated and wealthy citizens who have any patriotism, should forthwith engage their talents and their wealth in the noble work of advancing India's industrial development. Besides augmenting the wealth of the country, it would solve the present menacing evil, that of widespread unemployment. The Congress must at once appoint a Board for tackling the economic question and for directing the activities of Congress workers in this matter.

While thus the Congress will endeavour to improve the economic life of our country by the promotion of industrial and agricultural activities, there is also a negative aspect to this work. For some years we are familiar with the policy of boycotting British and foreign goods. Under the present circumstances, I have no doubt that the Congress will come to the unanimous decision that as a political sanction behind our demand for Swaraj, we shall strictly and ruthlessly boycott all British goods. But the economic interests of India require that we should proceed a step further. We should boycott all foreign goods, which would anywise compete with Indian manufactures. India gains nothing economically by purchasing continental and American substitutes sometimes inferior to British goods. The Congress should, as early as possible, appoint an expert Committee which will organise this boycott and make it thoroughly effective; so that, the [illegible] possible, of all foreign goods, will serve our economic purpose.

KHADDAR.

I have reserved Khaddar for special mention. Thanks to the untiring efforts of Mahatmaji and his noble band of workers, the movement is imperceptibly and steadily expanding. Well-wishers of our country would desire most heartily for its further expansion and growth. The faith of the country in Mahatmaji's favourite programme is being every day increased, as is evidenced by the immense and steady strides the movement is taking. I wish to make one suggestion in this connection. The Spinners' Association have built up a splendid organisation. I appeal to them to combine political work, especially propagandist, with the beneficent activities they are now pursuing. Secondly I suggest that they should not confine themselves only to Khaddar, but should include among their activities, the promotion of the sale of other purely indigenous articles in general demand. This would greatly help the indigenous industries as well as improve the finance of the Spinners' Association. I earnestly appeal to Mahatmaji to consider this suggestion.

The organisation of labour is another vital matter. The Congress must stand fearlessly and wholeheartedly by the labouring population, industrial and agricultural. The Congress should co-operate with the All-India Trade Union Congress and help it to secure human condition for Indian labour. By enlisting their active assistance, the cause of Swaraj could be tremendously advanced.

CONGRESS ORGANISATION.

Fellow Delegates, I would now invite your attention to the Congress organisation in the country. I must at once confess that we do not have to-day, that efficient and thorough organisation, which is necessary to carry forward the programme of a great body such as the Congress. We must at once set ourselves to the laborious task of spreading the organisation so as to reach the farthest parts of our country, so that our message may make universal response. Paid workers, carefully trained for political and economic propaganda, and capable of commanding respect and prestige, in the localities in which they work should be sent everywhere and the people kept in live contact with the progress of our Swaraj. So high must be the character that our propagandists possess with the people, that they would be always looked upon as experts of the country, capable of giving intelligent guidance on every matter, and at the same time, sound exponents of politics and economics.

Thus the Constitution as a political slogan and the boycott of British and foreign goods as an economic war-cry, the Congress should launch forth on a campaign of unparalleled propaganda and agitation for Swaraj. With a country re-awakened to a sense of its rights, re-united and re-organised, it would be easy to wrest freedom from unwilling hands.

COUNCIL POLICY.

May I now make a passing reference to a question, which I believe, occupies our attention rather disproportionately to its importance? With my short experience as a member of the Madras Legislative Council, I have come to certain conclusions, which I feel it to be my duty to express on this occasion. Without dilating upon the reasons which forced me to those conclusions, I shall proceed to state them. The Gauhati programme has been found to be unworkable. The programme lacked precision and I am sorry to have to say it, it is definitely tending to demoralise the Congress party in the Councils. I re-affirm my faith in Mahatmaji's original policy of absolute boycott of all these Councils. For one [illegible] we may all concentrate on work

"STRONG CASE FOR BOYCOTT"

In a brief but spirited address Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, makes out a strong case for a complete boycott of the Commission and, discussing the Congress policy in the Councils, suggests that "the only policy which will meet the present delicate situation is the one which permits us to enter the Councils but forbids us to sit there".

"TAIL CANNOT WAG THE DOG"

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY TO SIR M. SHAFI

VENUE OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

BOMBAY, Dec. 25.

Interviewed by representative of the Associated Press with regard to the refusal of Sir Mahomed Shafi to preside over the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Calcutta Mr. M. A. Jinnah said:

I received a wire from Sir Mahomed Shafi on 23rd urging me to accept Delhi as venue instead of Calcutta. I sent him a reply the same day as follows:

"So far received nothing but threats your side. At eleventh hour you suggest Delhi. Intervention with success impossible now. Besides too late make arrangements. I am helpless. Not reasonable to say Calcutta insisted upon after my long statement in press. Matter now rests with you to save split."

My attention was drawn to-day to the Associated Press message that Sir Mahomed Shafi's party have decided not to come to Calcutta. I will refrain from making any criticism at present about their attitude and their decisions but one thing is certain, that is the tail cannot wag the dog and the Council of All-India Muslim League will, as already notified, meet on 20th December and will decide what course is to be adopted in view of the situation created by a few men who are bent upon creating mischief.

Mr. Jinnah is leaving by Nagpur Mail to-day for Calcutta.—A. P.

INDIA'S DYNAMIC POWER

HER TOILING MASSES AND TEEMING MILLIONS

DR. SASTRI'S INSPIRING ADDRESS TO YOUTHS

(Free Press Special.)

MADRAS, Dec. 25.

Presiding over the All-India Youth Congress, Dr. K. D. Sastri, M.D., said India has immense potential power in her toiling masses and teeming millions, in her vast army of youngmen and young women. Two mighty potentials were awaiting the divine touch of Shakti, the masses who needed to be organised and the youth whose dynamic powers deserved to be harnessed. The youth of the land had been neglected, maltreated and mistrusted. An alien rule, he said, had kept youngmen out of political field and political work.

A nationwide spirit of revolt was now manifest among the youth of the country. But the spirit, though dynamic, was checked for lack of proper means of expression and self-assertion.

YOUTH: THE FUTURE HOPE.

Attempts have been made to properly use the youth of the country in the service of the motherland. Dr. Sastri thought that the regeneration of India, as elsewhere depended on her youth and he said if the youth did not sufficiently appreciate the truthfulness of their own worth and work, it would be difficult for the country to make advance towards Swaraj.

NOBLE CAUSE FOR YOUTHS.

The Youth Movement started under the auspices of Sadhu Vaswani had made good progress during the last few years. The social evils of the country which ate into the vitals of society were being sought to be removed by a band of young men. Some of the cruel customs had absolutely no justification for perpetuation and the earlier they were removed altogether the better. The Youth had that noble task to cleanse society before it and their efforts were bound to succeed.

With effect from 13th January 1928 Sir Samuel O'Donnell, Finance Member of the United Provinces Government is granted leave on average pay for eight months, followed by leave on half average pay for one year, preparatory to retirement.—Free Press.

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BOMBAY MONDAY DECEMBER 26 1927

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Head Office is in BOMBAY and so it is prompt in attending to all your co mmands.

"STAND ON MERITS"

KENYA GOVERNOR ON WHITE TRUSTEESHIP

OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE DISCOURAGED

NAIROBI, Nov. 29.
(By Mail.)

The unofficial, Conference of Indian Associations in East Africa was formally declared open by H. E. The Governor of Kenya at 10 a.m. on Saturday, the 26th November at the Alexandra Cinema, Nairobi, in the presence of a large gathering of delegates and spectators. Indian ladies were also present. The proceedings opened with "Bande Mataram" and a prayer by Indian school girls.

Mr. V. M. Phadke, President of the Congress Executive welcoming the Governor in a beautiful little speech, said the Conference was called in order to formulate the opinion of the Indian community in East Africa on the various matters that are included in the terms of reference for the Hilton-Young Commission. This Commission would be one of the most important landmarks in the history of the progress and development of East Africa and particularly of the Indian community that has settled here for a considerable time.

SHARE IN TRUSTEESHIP.

Without intending to be panicky or unduly pessimistic, the proposals, he said, made in certain quarters as regards the future government of these territories, and of Kenya in particular, were calculated to excite alarm in the mind of the Indian community who had considerable interests in the country. The history of the past, and the attempts occasionally made to strike at the root of the peaceful and orderly progress of the Indian community naturally engendered an attitude of watchfulness and suspicion as regards fresh proposals for constitutional changes. It was true and regrettable that the Conference met in such an atmosphere.

It is up to us, he said, "however, not to give way either to passion or to despair. Our duty lies clear before us and that is to place before this Commission frankly and fearlessly our views on the various proposals that arise and our opinions as to the best methods of assuring the progress and advancement of these territories with a view to the welfare of all the people therein, and the natives in particular. The proposal has been made to give us a share in the trusteeship of the native population, and it is up to us to show to the Commission that we realise all the implications of such a responsibility and that we are prepared to shoulder our share of the burden with a clear conscience."

INDIA & BRITISH IDEALS.

The Governor, after referring to the "domestic" problems and the work that will have to be done by the Hilton-Young Commission, said:—

I have recently been reading a book by an old friend of mine, Mr. Arthur Mayhew, lately Director of Education in the Central Provinces. It is a deeply sympathetic study of Indian aspirations and assisting these aspirations by means of education, whether State or private.

Look broadly on the British record in India. During the last century, we concentrated on the conscientious application to India of British ideas and ideals. In this century, there has been a rapid development of revolt against all European ideas, and a large school has argued passionately that India should cut herself clear altogether of the influence of the West.

No doubt European civilisation looked at its very worst to the East during the Great War, and I believe that the experience of the war hastened that reaction which has been manifested in the East against European ideas for some few years past. But now more moderate views seem to be gaining ground, and with them a gradual realisation that progress is not to be secured by either extreme. Every one agree that European institutions, European ideas, European models cannot be successfully applied ready-made outside Europe; but it is also realised that the East cannot entirely repudiate European influence. What seems to be happening therefore is a greater concentration upon the task of adapting European political expedience to the genius of India and to the temper, habit and character of its peoples. Now, I apologise for speaking about India. Perhaps I have no right to speak of it even in these general terms, but I was born in India and often have India in my thoughts.

Now surely there is much is Indian history which has a useful bearing upon our problems here. In the first place, I think everyone is agreed that you cannot turn an African into a European at high speed, and that we must devise for some form of African development which enables the African to develop, not as a good European, which he is sever likely to be, but as a good African.

MORAL FROM EAST.

There is one clear moral from the East, and I think it should teach us to guard against other more seductive temptations to frame the political development of Africa upon ready-made British models, which were devised to meet conditions of a totally different kind.

Take the question of representation. It is the question in particular which I would like to speak about to-day, because I believe that the Congress will naturally be deeply concerned in it, and because it is one of the questions upon which controversy is most likely to take place. I should like to tell you quite frankly what my own feeling is about it, and what I believe to be indicated to statemanship in Africa by experience derived from other parts of the world.

COMMON ROLL SYSTEM.

In England, of course, and in other parts of Europe, the question of representation is solved by the establishment of a common roll of voters, and all voters are added to that roll. It is there a workable system, although it has many and great defects because the community is homogeneous, and because all the voters are more or less of the same general average of capacity and standard of life. But the common roll so far as political experience at present goes has not worked well, in other countries where these conditions do not exist. Where it has been applied in despite of any of any disproportionate standards of life and education, it has led to every kind of political subterfuge, it has led to make-believe, it has led to withdrawing with the left hand what was given with the right, and has created far greater evils than those it was intended remove.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

The moral is very important for Africa at present time. Here the communities are very varied. The standard of education amongst them is immensely different. So is the capacity and the standard of life. So is the contribution which they have made and which they are able to make to the development of the country to which they all belong. It seems to me, therefore, that the communal system of representation is imposed upon us here by the necessities of the case. It was, as you know laid down as a principle, in the White Paper of 1923. It has been reiterated in the recent White Paper appointing the Hilton-Young Commission, and I am for my part convinced that Imperial statesmen have been very wise n taking that course. I believe that general recognition of the communal principle is absolutely essential to the peaceful development of this part of Africa.

But of course, the communal system raises problems of its own, and the most difficult of these problems is to determine how or on what principle the claim of the different communities to political power is to be assessed, how the proportion of political power to be given to the different communities to be assessed.

Frankly, I hold that there is only one principle upon which the power and privilege of communities—that is, politier power and privilege,—can be fairly assessed and that is by the general level of education the standard of life, and the contribution which each community is able to make to the progress of the country as a whole. I believe the recognition of that principle to be equally essential to peace in East Africa, because I know of no other which in practice will work for a single year. The best minds have been concentrated on this problem, and I do not believe that any other working principle has yet been discovered which it would be possible to test with the slightest chance of success. It is, therefore, my view that the communal principle is imposed by the facts.

STAND ON MERITS.

Each community then must stand on its own merits. During the transition stage, —and we are now going through transition stage when much is in the melting pot—the outside world, of course, our friends in England, our friends in India, and so on, will play a large and legitimate part in deciding how those merits should be assessed, and in what political form they shall be expressed. But I think it is essential for all the immigrant peoples in Africa to realise whether we be Europeans or Indians, or whatever we be, that ultimately we must stand on our merits without external support. The history of other countries shows that elements in a country enjoying political power but dependent for maintenance of that power or external support always ultimately break down and fail and disappear. I could give you many examples from history, but it is hardly necessary to do so. They will spring to every one's mind readily.

But if that be so, as it certainly is, the moral for us in Africa is a very solemn one. Take the European community. If the European community claims political power and privilege in Africa which on its merits it cannot maintain without external support, then I say that the European community in Africa will ultimately fail of its aims. It is exactly the same with the Indian community. They must undergo the same test, and they must ultimately stand on their merits without external support—that is, in their general character, on their standard of life and education, and on the contribution which they make to the progress of the country.

Africa is a very testing Continent. The primitive forces hidden within it have hitherto defied conquest, and steadily for centuries, except for a comparatively small area fringing the Mediterranean basin, those forces have resisted civilisation, so that in Africa the human race for centuries remained practically static. Greek and Roman civilisation, Persian, Chinese, Arab civilisation, and later still civilisation from the north of Europe, has for many centuries past touched the fringes of the African Coast, but it is only in the last few decades that the heart of this dark Continent has been probed, and that the problems of darkest Africa are being seriously faced. The conquest of it by science and civilisation has at last begun.

MORAL QUESTION.

I should like therefore to say—and it is my last word—what I said more than once in England while I was there a few months ago,—that the destiny of the settlement by the immigrant races in Africa is much more a moral than a political question. Mathew Arnold said once that "Conduct was three parts of human life" and I believe in Africa that it is the character of the communities which will ultimately decide.

I hope therefore that this Congress will address itself to its important work with a clear perception of these ruling truths. I hope that it will consider not only what Indians can claim from Africa, but they can do for Africa and how they can deserve of Africa the power and privilege which they claim.

Following the speech-making, His Excellency and Lady Grigg were garlanded by Mrs. Karve.

The Conference was then adjourned until the afternoon when the delegates met in private.—Free Press.

A QUERY.

To The Editor of "The Chronicle."

Sir,—Kindly allow me the hospitality of a few lines in your paper to enquire whether an old remedy Dr. Jayne's Carminative Balsam" is available anywhere in Bombay. Dr. Hallier & Co. who are the agents at Madras say the medicine is not available in Bombay either. It is urgently required for a patient who is not able to tolerate any other medicine. Any body having the medicine may communicative with me. Address:—122, Mannarkoil Street, Royapuram Madras N. E.—Yours, etc.

BONAVIS BONNELL.
122, Mannarkoil Street,
Royapuram Madras.

LONDON TOPICS

INDIA IN "FOREIGN AFFAIRS"

"IRISH WORKERS" PARTY

(From a Special Correspondent).
London.

The advent of the Irish Worker League upon the political stage of Ireland is an event of some significance, despite the fact that only one of its three candidates was elected to the Dail. Nor is it less significant because its one representative fails to "to turn up" at the historic sittings of the new Dail, or proceeds incontinently upon a journey to the Soviet anniversary celebrations.

For the "Irish Worker" party, represented by Mr. Larkin, professes to regard the principles and policy of official Irish republicanism, equally with those of official Irish Labour, as matters subject to detached and independent consideration and not necessarily the concern of the Worker League. It cannot but be that many of the Irish republican rank and file are adherents of the principles of the late James Connolly. If to-day they approve of the principles which animated the Republican leader and soldier in his participation in the "Easter Rising" of 1916, they must in time tend to attach themselves to the Irish Worker League, whose alleged policy is to press Connolly's Labour Republican principles on the Republican Party. and the claims of republican nationalism on the Labour Party.

Some of the Republians speak none too enthusiastically of James Connolly. One said at a republican meeting: "After all, Connolly got his ideas from Finton Lalor." Not a crime, that,—but the object was to depreciate Connolly's originality. Without being certain Connolly drew so much on Lalor as on Marx it is safe to assert that the republicans of 1927 are not "taking their ideas from James Connolly;"

Small wonder, then, if the advocates of a "Workers' Republic" adopt an attitude annoyingly independent or aggressive.

"THE INDIAN."

Mr. Vishnu Karandikar's journal "The Indian" continues to appear in London monthly, and is produced in excellent style. Mr. Karandikar has collaborated with other Indians and with friends of India to found an Indian Defence Association, the address of which is 143 Fleet St. London.

"Foreign Affairs" for November contains the second of a series of articles on Problems of Indian Self-Government. Self-Government rather tends to be turned into "Problems" by the utilisation of such writers on the various subjects as possess an orthodox and British viewpoint. For example Mr. T. G. Garrett wrote the first article; Lord Olivier dilates on the complexity of the "problem" of "incorporating" the Indian States Mr. T. P. Sinha is to talk on the zemindars; Sir John Maynard on the differences of Hindus and Muslims. Just the wrong people, in our opinion; but Mr. C. F. Andrews, who is to write about Indian Social conditions and education may be expected to do what is possible, within that restricted field, to set an Indian view before the readers. He should have been the one to write on the revision of the alleged "Reforms." Indeed we do not see why Indian Nationalists were not asked to conduct the series, in a journal based on democratic control. The Hon. J. S. Smith, High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa, in a speech yesterday spoke of the diabolical legislation relative to African natives as "Solving the native question." Such a definition reminds us of the historic phrase "Peace reigns in Warsaw." Mr. Smith concluded by deprecating interference in England with white Afrikanders who were resolved to make Africa "fit for white men."

Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., "Gave the show away" at Cannon Street Hotel last night by his vision of the Empire as an "economic unit."

For the second year in succession the municipal elections in England have shown a great victory for the Labour candidates. A year ago Labour won 140 of the seats from its opponent: this year it wins another hundred. These figures represent gains from the other parties. This year the Conservatives have lost 71 seats, the Liberals 20 and the Independents 9!

There were also reverses among the 785 candidates of the Labour men. The net gain of 100 does not put Labour in effect control of the boroughs to any great extent.

In these days of scouring the planet by airplanes, explorations and surveys, it is not far short of miraculous that a mountain range larger than the Caucasus should have been "discovered" in 1927. It is more than that, it is decidedly annoying that it has been discovered by the Russian Geological Survey, and in Siberia!

The reported discovery in Mongolia of the 700 years old tomb of Jinghiz Khan is unfortunately dwarfed by the new mountain range.

An Ipswith Veterinary has been charged with tying a ligature round the muzzles and jaws of dogs left in their charge. He has been fined £10 and £5 5s. costs "to encourage the others." Now, who is going to write a book on "Mother England?"

"Science of Elections; France learns from England; First Poster Campaign" is the striking headline of an article giving samples of a French party's election stunts. One poster represents a Germanic-looking conspirator putting a dagger in the hands of a Christy-Minstrel "Arab," and is labelled "In the Colonies the Communists work to stab France to death." This party professes to believe in God, who judges liars. It has three sets of posters, the first to misrepresent the Communists, the next to slander the anti-Communist "Socialists," the third to lie about the Radicals! What a warning for moderates who lend their aid to anti-red bloodhunts!

In a report of the nice little exhibition of paintings in the Town Hall in September, I see that the "Herald" said:—"This Society (the Society for the Encouragement of Indian Arts) must not get confused with the Bombay Art Society, which has its show in the Town Hall every year. The Bombay Art Society represents Western Art, while this Society stands for pure Indian art and culture."

This is a misrepresentation of the aims and position of the Art Society, and it is a matter of surprise and regret that the "Herald" can, without an attempt at journalistic impartiality repeats the frenzied language of Mr. Fyzee Rahamin: While readily granting the genius of that young artist, the tone of the article appears to be influenced by such phrases as "Most of the best artists who are responsible for the revival of Indian art have contributed. . . . Faizi Rahmin. . are names to conjure with." A little less conjuring and a little more fairplay will be appreciated by friends of justice and Indian art.

DADAR OVERBRIDGE

To the Editor of "The Chronicle."

Sir.—Your readers are aware of the large improvements in local traffic effected by the B. B. and C. I. Ry. Company. As a result of this Dadar station has been provided with an overbridge and outlets more than the two originally existing in order to cope with the large increase in traffic. Though an exit has been provided for near the overbridge on the western side of the railway station, the local demi-gods at the station very seldom allow the passengers to use that exit. Very often the gate is kept locked and his bad practice is prevailing at times when the traffic is heavy such as office time in the morning and evening. On Saturdays and Sundays this gate is never opened but the surprise of one and all is that even during working days the gate is kept locked. On Saturday last both in the morning at 9.20 p.m. and in the afternoon 3-30 p.m. —time when office-going people rush in—the gate was closed. To-day the same thing was noticed in the morning. Perhaps the station-master is actually proving the adage that "where God blesses the officiating priest will intervene between the God and devotee and deprive the latter of the blessing." It is high time that this grievance of the numerous Dadar passengers is remedied. The gate is a real boon considerong the present length of the platform and the place where the trains generally stop to enable passengers to get up and get down and all that is required is a little consideration from the local station-master. Will he look into this? I await for an answer.—Yours etc.

A SEASON TICKET-HOLDER.
Dadar, Dec. 20.

(Continued from Column 6.)

Mr. Tom Mann, seconded by Dr. K. S. Bhat. Mr. Lupton acknowledged this, and repeated that where the total food production was insufficient in a predominantly agricultural country like India, it was not at all to be wondered at that 50 million people got less than sufficient to live upon. Some landlords were undoubtedly rich, and were unjustifiably free from income-tax over large areas of India; but the weaker party in the State would inevitably go short until the total production was adequate for all. He asked Indian patriots in his book to consider this question and increase production; let them do that, and then, if cultivation did not secure a good livelihood out of their toil let the patriots go further and set that right too. His sole desire was to make India prosperous and happy.

HAPPY INDIA

DISCUSSION ON MR. ARNOLD LUPTON'S LECTURE IN LONDON

II.

Following Mr. Arnold Lupton's lecture, already reported, on "Happy India As it Might be if Guided by Modern Science," the Workers' Welfare League of India conducted a vigorous discussion of the subject. Mr. Palme Dutt presided.

Mr. Dutt said that he regretted the lecturer's opinion that increased production was the primary and immediate problem. He desired to suggest that the essential preliminary to agreement on increase of production was a reform of the distribution. Professor Shaw, in his work "The Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India," proved that two-thirds of the people enjoyed only 30 per cent. of the national annual income. He did not agree with Mr. Luptons that his reading of his book to Lord Irwin had produced no result. Lord Irwin appeared to have taken Mr. Lupton's advice. One of his first actions was to set up a Commission to see how to increase agricultural production in India. Ten volumes of evidence had been gathered, but the volumes disclosed no consideration whatever of the incidence of distribution. That, nevertheless, was the chief determination. Would the cultivators, or should they, increase output only to see it taken away from them to the extent of 70 per cent. or any similar proportion? He urged on the lecturer the essential necessity of advocating proper provisions for the reward of the producers.

Mr. Arthur Field thought the lecture and book were sympathetic and valuable contibutions, as far as the poles apart from the vituperation and obscenity of Miss Mayo's scandalous work. It was, howver, a most serious error that caused the author to treat merely of agricultural inefficiency and to ignore such matters as, for example, the outburst of present desperation particularly in the U. P. from the latter part of last decade up to the climax in 1924. The Government, after maintaining an attitude of independent guardians of peasant rights finally defended the legal rights of the talukdars and suppressed the agrarian movement. Allowing in every way for the necessities of Government to suppress disorder, the fact remained that the rich propertied classes would always be backed in their class exploitation of the peasants. The Government had passed an Oudh Rent Act, and there was no reason why they should not produce schemes of increased production by legal guarantees to the cultivators. Personally, the speaker stood for far more than that. He wanted the expropriation of the zemindars, talukdars, sardars, jagirdars and other aristocrats or feudal landlords. But the naturalisation by a Government would not assure fairplay to the peasant, without graduated land tax, rent courts, and abolition of indirect taxation. Village councils, of cultivators only, should be instituted to redistribute the land by communal agreement. Fractionalisation could then be cured, but aggregation would have to be controlled. Competitive labour upon large scientific farms should be limited to a 48-hour week. Without some programme of the sort, or a partial move in this direction, increased production would open the way to increased exploitation.

Mr. Singh emphasised the inadequacy of any scheme which ignored the probable exploitation of the increased energy and science of the cultivator. The land tax of India was a flat tax, which, apparently small, was only trifling to the large men, was actually a corresponding burden to the poorer people. The land tax should be graded, in which case it was possible to incite production and even raise the tax without merely increasing the difficulties poverty and indebtedness of the poor. Mr Tom Mann praised the paper and complimented Mr. Lupton, but disagreed with several of his contentions, for example that in a starving community the birthrate must be high and the deathrate high. If his studies had been correct, the effect of increased production unaccompanied by any legal reconstruction would inevitably be a huge expansion of the population. What was needed was the creation and fostering of a resolution among the poor and early to secure the fruits of their toil and reach higher levels of subsistence and comfort.

A vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the lecturer, on the motion of

(Continued in column 5.)

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